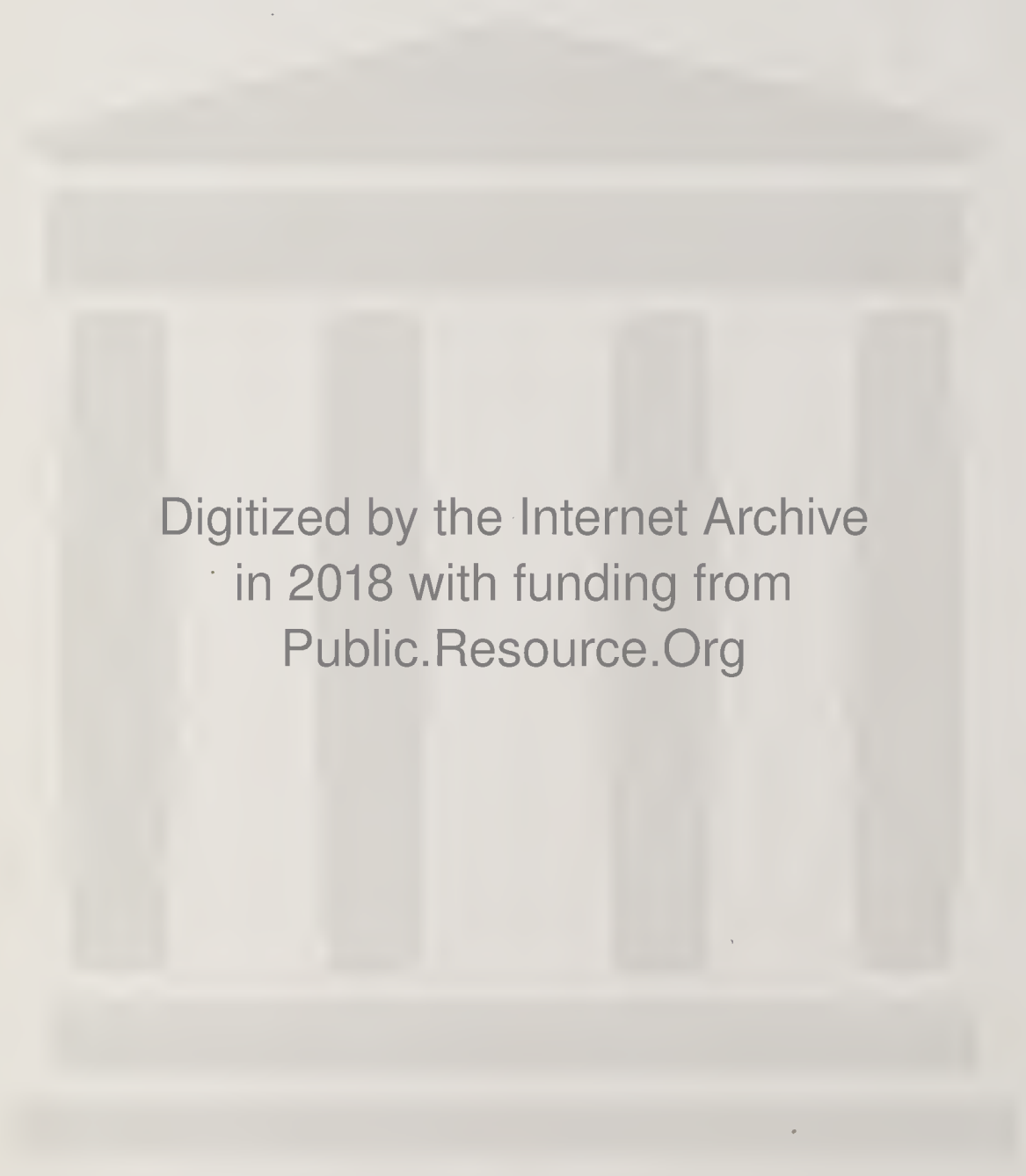


आधुनिक भारत के निर्माता
BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA

**P. S. SIVASWAMI
AIYER**

आधु **K. CHANDRASEKHARAN** तारः

ਨਵ-ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਨਿਰਮਾਤਾ
நவபாரதச் சிற்பிகள்
നവഭാരത നിർമ്മാതാക്കൾ
నవ భారత నిర్మాతలు
جدید ہندوستان کے معمار



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Public.Resource.Org

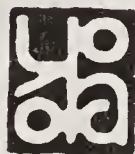


P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER

BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA

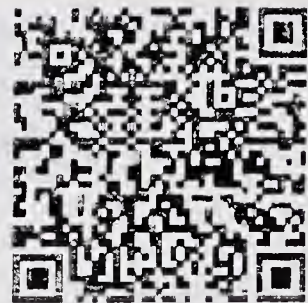
**P. S. SIVASWAMI
AIYER**

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN



**PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

First Print 1968 (Saka 1890)
First Reprint 1974 (Saka 1895)
Second Reprint 2000 (Saka 1922)



© PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

ISBN : 81-230-0904-6

PRICE : Rs. 80.00

Published by the Director, Publications Division,
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting,
Government of India, Patiala House, New Delhi-110 001

Sales Emporia • Publications Division

- Patiala House, Tilak Marg, New Delhi- 110 001
- Super Bazar, Connaught Circus, New Delhi- 110 001
- Hall No. 196, Old Secretariat, Delhi- 110 054
- Commerce House, Currimbhoy Road, Ballard Pier, Mumbai-400038
- 8, Esplanade East, Calcutta - 700 069
- Rajaji Bhawan, Besant Nagar, Chennai - 600 090
- Press Raod, Thiruvananthapuram - 695 001
- State Archaeological Museum Building, Public Gardens, Hyderabad-500 004
- Ist Floor, 'F' Wing, Kendriya Sadan, Koramangala, Bangalore - 560034
- Bihar State Co-operative Bank Building, Ashoka Rajpath, Patna- 800 004
- 27/6, Ram Mohan Roy Marg, Lucknow- 226 001
- Ambica Complex, Ist Floor, Above UCO Bank, Paldi, Ahmedabad-380 007
- Naujan Road, Uzan Bazar, Guwahati - 781 001

Sales Counters

- C/o PIB, C.G.O. Complex. 'A' Wing, A.B. Road, Indore (M.P.)
- C/o PIB, 80, Malviya Nagar, Bhopal - 462 003 (M.P.)
- C/o PIB, B-7/B, Bhawani Singh Marg, Jaipur - 302 001 (Rajasthan)

Typeset at : Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi.

Printed at : Akashdeep Printers, 20, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi-2.

ABOUT THE SERIES

The object of this series is to record, for the present and future generations, the story of the struggles and achievements of the eminent sons and daughters of India who have been mainly instrumental in our national renaissance and the attainment of independence.

The biographies are planned as handy volumes written by knowledgeable people and give a brief account, in simple words, of the life and activities of the eminent leaders and of their times. They are not intended either to be comprehensive studies or to replace the more elaborate biographies.

The work of writing these lives has to be entrusted to different people. It has, therefore, not been possible to publish the biographies in a chronological order. It is hoped, however, that within a short period all eminent national personalities will figure in this series.

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	
I.	THE SIXTIES OF THE LAST CENTURY	1
II.	CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION	8
III.	HARD PREPARATION	18
IV.	PUBLIC OFFICES	33
V.	"CONSERVATIVE WEDDED TO PROGRESS"	43
VI.	WIDENING HORIZON	78
VII.	GLOW WITHOUT GLARE	92
VIII.	A UNIQUE PERSONALITY	101
IX.	"RIPENESS IS ALL"	121
	APPENDICES	125
	INDEX	152



PREFACE

My knowledge of Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer, the apostle of rectitude, has been a part of my inheritance. He and my father, V. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, were almost of the same age and chums while young, and their careers, from school and college up to a fairly good number of years as contemporaries in the legal profession and the political field, ran on parallel lines. Apart from certain temperamental differences, their achievements and character had almost similar features.

My personal association with Sivaswami Aiyer in a greater measure started about the year 1925, when I approached him for borrowing from his magnificent library, a book. Since then I developed a reverent affection for him. I had more than once received encouragement from him in my literary pursuits. More than his attitude to life, his living it in a way according to a plan 'in calmness made', extorted my profound admiration for him. It is, therefore, a source of immense pride to be asked to write his life in however, limited a compass I may be privileged to do it.

A gentleman to the core, his actions were dictated by motives of a superior nature. To the last he remained shunning publicity even while his benefactions were unparalleled of their kind. Self-effacing and withdrawing, he walked by himself with his steady steps, never turning back his gaze, nor ever looking around in search of applause.

It will be obvious to the reader that Sivaswami Aiyer's career was neither picturesque nor colourful. Still, taken all, it has

the subdued music of a stringed instrument that pervades the listener's heart and soul with its measured, yet unfailing tonal qualities of a classical finish. Among the Builders of Modern India, certainly his place will be secure not so much for any of the panoramic effects, as for solid, substantial services in advancing the interests of the youth. His affection for the youth of the land could not have been better revealed than in the handsome educational endowments he had made in order to sustain the forward march of the nation towards a status of equality with other progressive countries of the world. If he felt seriously that the Indian youth, denied of the training and career in the military service, meant a total handicap for the country on the road to independence, it was no ordinary sense of patriotism which imbued him to study with devotion military problems, and constantly, by speech and writing in the Press, draw the attention of both an unwilling Government and an indifferent public to the crying need of the hour.

The recent publication, by the Allied Publishers, of the sumptuous volume, 'A Great Liberal' has made it much easier and safer for a biographer of Sivaswami Aiyer to accomplish his work without much strain and search for documentary evidence to sustain its authenticity. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri has so ably edited under classified headings the various writings of Sivaswami Aiyer, that none need find any great hardship to become aware of what phenomenal industry and patience Sivaswami Aiyer had bestowed upon the many problems facing the country in the political, economic, military, social, educational and legal fields. I am much indebted to the book, and I acknowledge with genuine gratitude that it has been a source of much enlightenment also in preparing this short account. To the Satabhishekam Souvenir Volume, as well as the two separate publications at Mylapore and at Tirukkattupalli to mark the centenary of Sivaswami Aiyer's birth, I am beholden for a lot of information pertaining to the inception

and growth of the two educational institutions which he founded. Again, to Smt Chellam, the Headmistress of the Lady Sivaswami Aiyer Girls' High School, Mylapore, I am thankful for some of the details pertaining to the early beginnings of Sivaswami Aiyer's life mentioned by her in her tiny volume in Tamil.

Some of the copies of correspondence kept by Sri Gopala Aiyar, the loyal attendant of Sivaswami Aiyer, and his son, as a sacred trust with them, were helpful in providing material regarding a few of the personal aspects of the great man. I am thankful to them both for allowing me to draw upon the contents of some of the hitherto unpublished correspondence. The Appendices that I have added contain extracts from some of the published writings of Sivaswami Aiyer as well as one or two other papers from the private collection kept by Sri Gopala Aiyar. I have to thank his son, G. Subramanyan of Higginbotham & Co., Madras, for allowing me to use the material. I have spelt the suffix as 'Aiyer' wherever Sivaswami Aiyer's name occurs, as he was particular always in subscribing himself with an 'e' instead of 'a' in 'Aiyer'.

I may conclude this preface with the hope that Sivaswami Aiyer's memory will ever evoke in the hearts of his grateful countrymen an impression of solidity in scholarship, refreshing sanity in public affairs and great respectability of character in all spheres of human endeavour.

K. Chandrasekharan

CHAPTER I

THE SIXTIES OF THE LAST CENTURY

The Indian uprising of 1857 had been scotched before it developed into a wide awakening of nationalism. The Queen's Proclamation, which followed in 1858, was believed to be the precursor of an era of peace, prosperity and progress. A new generation—a mixed middle class—with fresh outlook and a modern education was in the making, sedulously impregnated with ideas of a new dispensation under the British rule. Indeed, this new generation was to become the vanguard of India's epic struggle for freedom. Still, the actual preparation for this destiny was only to come later.

The markedly recognizable feature of the times preceding the sixties of the last century was that intellectually and spiritually Indians were enjoying the quiet of the desert. There was no stir anywhere either of creative work or national reconstruction. Politically, people, as a whole, had no consciousness of the slavery they were submitting to. Culturally, Indians were enamoured of the new servitude and the promptings of a foreign influence. Sometimes they became so dead to national aspirations that they were ashamed of their very nativity. Apart from stray instances of mentally or intellectually alert individuals, it was the stage for a totally abject people trying unsuccessfully to ape Westerners in their manners and habits, seeking at the same time consolation in age-long traditions and meaningless dogma.

The suppression of the rebellion of 1857, was followed by the establishment of universities in 1858, and of the High Courts and Legislative Councils between 1861 and 1863. Western types of legal institutions and parliamentary methods were introduced to signify a new era in the field of law and legislation. The educational system, consequent upon the birth of universities, ushered in great changes, paving the way for a close contact with the English language and literature. The impact of a foreign civilization could not but affect deeply the beliefs and sentiments of Indians, who were under the British rule.

Reforming zeal ere long took sprout in the hearts of men of vision, such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Bengal, Mahadev Govinda Ranade of Poona and the founders of the Theosophical Society in the South. The germs of religious reform soon brought about a change in the strong adherents of orthodoxy with the result that some of the prevailing social evils and superstitions began to give way. The Brahmo Samaj battled against polytheism, idolatry and polygamy. The Prarthana Samaj, of which Ranade was the life-breath, devoted itself to the removal of caste disabilities and ritualistic approach to religion. The Theosophical movement laid special emphasis on a re-discovery and rehabilitation of all that was great in Oriental or Indian culture. In some measure these activities of regeneration of our ancient culture helped to arrest the growing obsession of a denationalising outlook and superiority of the West.

The establishment of Indian High Courts in the important Presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the year 1862, was responsible for creating a hierarchy of courts, starting from the District Munsifs at the lower end and ending up with the High Courts, based on a gradation of jurisdiction and rights of appeal. The British jurisprudence shaped much of our legal conceptions, save in the region of private law governing Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Sikhs in regard to their rights of succession, marriage,

etc. The value of British justice, exemplifying an underlying sense of the rule of law, impressed greatly the early practitioners in the various High Courts. A growing sense of security, resulting from judicial administration, contributed to a belief in the general progress of our country and the inevitability of our connection with the Britishers.

The impact of the British way of life and English literature had its indelible marks left upon the newly created educated class in India. A national renaissance was gradually perceptible in the way the English-educated began to show an expansive outlook. The early pioneers in religious and social reforms tried to overcome the disabilities and incongruities ingrained in some of the traditional observances and customs. A later distinct phase of such a reformatory movement was that of the Ramakrishna Mission which combined religion with social work in its extensive organisation. If Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa Mission discovered in his disciple, Swami Vivekananda, a dynamic personality to spread the gospel of a universal religion both in the East and the West, the Swami, in his turn, founded an order of monks whose sanyasa and dedication to service embraced all kinds of effective programmes for social amelioration and spiritual uplift. Many such movements were to prove so many strands in the newly woven texture of Indian nationalism. The Indian National Congress, which was to be actually born a decade and a half later, must be deemed to have had its incubation in this renaissance.

It is generally accepted that the latter part of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of both political and social emancipation of our country. The sixties in particular appear to have given to the country and to the world some of the outstanding personalities of the age that followed. Universal recognition of a kind not within the reach of many others of the same period had come to them unasked. Rabindranath Tagore, born in 1861, and Swami Vivekananda, in 1863, are today known in every part of the globe.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mahatma Gandhi, the two prophets in politics, were to see the light of day in 1866 and 1869, respectively. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Motilal Nehru were both ushered into life in 1861. Madras was no less fortunate in her crop of eminent patriots and statesmen born during the sixties. The Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri was only senior by ten days to Mahatma Gandhi in his birth. His name had been always associated with some of the world-ranking statesmen. If not to the same extent of a wide recognition and popular appeal for his achievements, P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer, born in 1864, could claim the same sterling qualities which radiated with such mellowed glow in the leaders of thought and action of that period.

Madras city in those days provided the necessary attraction to the younger people of the mofussil, who were bent on furthering their material prospects. The establishment of the High Court was one of the causes after graduating. There were only a few colleges outside Madras. The Kumbakonam college was perhaps the only Government College, apart from the Presidency College at Madras, which could satisfy aspiring students to receive the necessary instruction in the humanities and sciences. The law course was nevertheless a great source of attraction to the city for those desirous of joining the legal profession. The shining example of Justice Sir T. Muthuswami Aiyar was in those days a very strong inducement for many bright young men to seek an opening in the legal profession for their talents to shine.

But all were not fortunate enough to secure the palm without the dust. Some got a quick rise in the profession, while others had to wait for long, if not altogether remain unfavoured by fortune. It was not any easy circumstance also for Vakils to compete with barristers who had an initial advantage over them owing to their

contacts with the English Bar and its traditions. The O'Sullivans, Bransons, Nortons, Grants and others had sent such firm roots into the soil as to make it difficult for the Vakils to break their monopoly. The Vakils as a class had many other hurdles to overcome. They had no privilege to wear gowns or bands. They could not appear in insolvency matters. The discrimination against the Vakil section of the Bar had to be gradually obliterated by the assiduous efforts of the early pioneers in the profession. As long as their intrinsic abilities could not be ignored by courts or the presiding judges, they could make up for some of their initial drawbacks by their perseverance and powers of learned arguments. One by one, the disparities existing between the barrister and the Vakil elements disappeared, with the result, that in a competition of equal opportunities, the barristers were unable to maintain their original impregnable position. It was Sir V. Bashyam Aiyengar, the most astute among the Vakils, who brought to the notice of the Government of the day, the fact that nothing statutorily prevented a Vakil from becoming an Advocate General, a post until then held by the English barristers only. An unfounded impression had gained strength among the authorities that, as then constituted, the Statute (21 and 22, Victoria, Chap : 106, Sec. 29) spoke of the appointments under the crown by "regulation, custom or usage". The 'custom' referred to was with reference to the appointing authority and not with regard to the qualifications of the persons to be appointed. This subtlety was pointed out by V. Bashyam Aiyengar, who had set a high standard of proficiency for the Madras Bar. 'The Bashyam Aiyengar tradition' denoted for more than one generation of lawyers who followed, thorough mastery of the statutes, careful analysis of facts, a good memory for case-law and skill and circumspection in presenting arguments in court.

The Luz Church Road happened to be one of the important avenues in Mylapore, on either side of which the prominent lawyers of those days lived in affluent circumstances. Sir

V. Bashyam Aiyengar, Sir S. Subrahmania Aiyar (Mani Aiyar), V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, P.R. Sundara Aiyar, P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer, Ramachandra Rao, C.R. Pattabhirama Aiyar and V.C. Desikachari were some of the top-ranking lawyers of the times, who had lent distinction to that road by their expansive compounds abutting on it. It was an unforgettable sight to find landaus drawn by two horses, thudding with their hooves along the broad Luz Church Road, either emerging from or entering into the gates of adjacent compounds. Turbaned lawyers of that generation commanded notice of passers-by by their imposing appearance while seated with great dignity and aplomb in their carriages.

Mylapore was a regular Mecca for the advancing elements of intellectual society. The Indian National Congress which met in 1885 at Bombay for the first time, had its small and obscure beginnings in Mylapore, where a group of public-spirited men met at the residence of Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rao, to discuss the formation of a political body devoted to tackling pressing national problems. If Swami Vivekananda, as a wandering monk, despaired of financial help in order to reach America where the Parliament of Religions was scheduled to meet in Chicago, it was Mylapore which came to his aid through that leader of men, and a great judge, S. Subrahmania Aiyar. For many other healthy movements of those times, Mylapore was the fountain-source.

Compared with the strides the nation as a whole took after the twenties of the present century, the Indian scene in the previous decades was uneventful, despite the stirrings of heart which the educated classes began to feel for the achievement of self-government. The newly educated belonged to the middle class which enjoyed the patronage of the Government, while at the same time aspiring for progress in the larger sense of the word.

It was an age of no clear conception of reform or expectations of progress; it showed that the material shaped by modern education was malleable and prepared for absorption of

fresh ideas of liberty and initiative for improvement and reforms. John Stuart Mill, Spencer and Bain were studied to some effective purpose. The wide knowledge that came with the introduction of English as a compulsory subject in schools and colleges easily paved the way for a fuller comprehension of political reform as a first step towards a country's self-rule. Those who were born in the sixties of the last century, showed an enormous capacity to stimulate the awakening for the definite forward march which ultimately led us to the haven of freedom, and Sivaswami Aiyer was one among them.

□□□

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

The first flush of education imparted in the modern way was perceptible in the families that had been for generations known for their ancient learning. In other words, those who were well-versed in the *Sastras* and other Oriental learnings evinced greater interest in sending their children to English schools. The very upholders of orthodoxy in the strictest sense felt no qualms in seeing to their progeny achieving proficiency in a foreign language. What happened as a result was the inevitable creation of a large ministerial class which assiduously helped the administration and commerce. The main requirement for such service as subordinates was mere proficiency in the language of the ruler. The vast majority of people in a country where agricultural operations demanded hard physical labour did not take to the new education so easily, with the consequence, a gradual division of the country into educated and non-educated classes was emphasised.

From the district of Thanjavur particularly, more educated people came to Madras because of the facilities they had enjoyed for education in the Kumbakonam Government College which was started much earlier than any other such institution in the mofussil. Thanjavur had been a principality ruled by the Mahratha descendants of Chatrapati Sivaji before the British Government

took it by accession. Having enjoyed the benefits of a ruler like Serfoji, whose cultural attainments were of a high order, Thanjavur became notable for the flourishing of arts and higher learning. The manuscripts preserved by the Saraswati Mahal Library stand today as monuments to the catholicity of outlook and broadbased culture of that enlightened prince. The influence of an enlightened royal court made many of the families who had some contact with it evince something of the urbanity and cultivated taste belonging to it.

It was in one such family that Pazhamaneri Sundaram Aiyar, father of P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer, was born in about 1840. Sanskrit learning was inherited by the members of that family, though Sundaram Aiyar, as a young boy preferred to go to the English School in search of modern knowledge. The S.P.G. Mission High School was then run by Mr. Marsh, an educationist of outstanding teaching mettle, and no wonder that young Sundaram was drawn to the institution by instinct. After receiving the benefits of the school education, he became a teacher himself in the Mission School in Pattukkottai in the same district of Thanjavur. His venturesome spirit would not allow him to remain long confined to that walk of life but forced him to join the Thanjavur Bar as a pleader. Without undergoing a regular course of study in law, but with passing some tests, pleaders, as they were called, were permitted in those days to appear on behalf of the liltigants before the subordinate judiciary in the districts. Soon, by dint of hard work and abililty, Sundaram Aiyar secured a large clientele, and his earnings in the new profession supplied him with all the appanages of affluence. His residence in the West Main Street in Thanjavur was spacious enough and his way of living definitely exhibited signs of prosperity.

He had been married when he set up his home in Thanjavur. His wife, Subbalakshmi, belonged to the nearby village called Marur and her father, Nanu Sastri, was of the orthodox type,

observing ceremonial occasions and religious functions according to the dictates of the *Sastras*. Sundaram Aiyar, having come into favourable circumstances, did not stint in providing his children the comforts of a well-to-do family. His eldest son, Sivaswami, was born on February 7, 1864, in the village of his maternal grandfather. According to the Indian calendar, he saw the light of day in the month of Makara of Rudirodgari, on a Sunday evening, under the constellation of Sravana. The mother was eighteen years of age at that time. The name Sivaswami appears to have been borne by his paternal grandfather, and so that child was, according to Hindu conventions, named after the grandfather. But he was addressed by the name 'Duraishwami' at home by his mother as her feminine propriety would not permit her calling her son by a name, which elders of the family, and particularly her father-in-law, bore.

Sivaswami was followed by three brothers—Chandrasekharan, who was later to become a doctor of medicine and occupy the post of the Director of Tuberculosis Institute at Madras; Sitaraman, who was to become a subordinate judge; and Subrahmanyam, who too occupied a judicial post as district munsif. Two of Sivaswami Aiyer's sisters, Dharmambal and Sundari, who were married while quite young, became in course of time mothers of children, one of whom, P.N. Ramaswami, was a brilliant student and came out successful in the Indian Civil Service examinations of the year 1922-23. He was later elevated to the Bench of the High Court of Madras after serving as a judicial officer in some of the districts of the Presidency.

The boy, Sivaswami, was not of fair complexion though his features were impressive, indicating an intellectual face in combination with a shapely head. His mother was very much attached to him, even as he was ever dutiful to his parents while alive, and to the last moment of his life devoted to their memories. The boy, while he was seven, was put to school in the S.P.G. Fort Branch School, and continued his higher studies in the High School

at Manambuchavadi. His father was a scholar in Sanskrit and wished to provide private tuition to the son for coaching him up in Sanskrit. Pandit Ramaswami Sastri of Tiruvalangadu was chosen to give lessons in Sanskrit to the youngster, whose erudition in that classical language in later years owed its solid grounding to the early instruction he had received from that pandit. The boy was nurtured in a home where the father regularly did his *parayana* of the Ramayana after early bath and morning ablutions. The household was distinguishable by the tidiness and light that went to make a family well-knit and self-sufficing. The atmosphere was conducive to the growth of methodical application of the mind to studies and regular habits for a boy in his formative years. So, young Sivaswami's daily routine of study, bath, sleep, etc. was well ordered according to time-schedule, and it proved of lasting benefit to him during the later years.

While at school, he formed a close association with two other boys of his age, V. Krishnaswami and P.R. Natesan. Sivaswami and Krishnaswami developed a strong liking for their teacher Mr. Marsh, whose meticulous care in teaching English words inculcated in Sivaswami an unusual fastidiousness for correct accent and pronunciation. While Krishnaswami was of an assertive nature, given to vehemence of expression, Sivaswami was mild of language though never forfeiting his firm stand in argument. Generally, he was more considerate of feelings and avoided unpleasantness of controversy. It was a constant occurrence during their college days that Krishnaswami's impatience was roused whenever his friend tried to correct his pronunciation during an animated discussion of any intellectual problem. But it was in a confessing mood that Krishnaswami always owned Sivaswami's accurate knowledge by remarking that he had no need to consult any dictionary so long as Sivaswami was there to help him and save him the trouble of any laborious investigation.

Sivaswami was a bit deficient in his mathematics, and so under Principal Marsh's advice the father withdrew the boy from appearing for the Matriculation examination in the first year. Further, as he was also too young, it provided to his benefit. He was permitted in the next year (1877), to sit for the public examination, in which he scored a first class.

Both the friends joined the Government College at Kumbakonam, then famous as a centre of higher education and for the presence of eminent professors. Mr. Porter and Mr. T. Gopal Rao were names to conjure within the educational field. There were also other professors of noteworthiness such as Messrs Sundara Rao and R.V. Srinivasa Aiyar of 'Euclid' fame. Many of the alumni of the college secured prominence in later life, and the word passed from mouth to mouth that Kumbakonam college training signified high level of intellectuality in a student who was sent out of its portals.

The Kumbakonam college, in addition to its reputation for preserving an intellectual atmosphere, possessed certain other advantages which were not usually associated with similar institutions. The college buildings with their grounds nestled close to the river Cauveri. The sight of the river at the spot where the college was situated with its wooded banks presented an attractive view and in a season of spate the impressiveness of the scenery and surroundings was hard to overcome. The college had built fine approaches to the river through steps of masonry, and the students had their fill of swimming and boating in the river. The college could boast even of boat-rowing in which excellence was achieved by teams of students entering the annual regatta on the river when it was full. It therefore, deserved the appellation of 'The Cambridge of South India' for more than one reason.

Student Sivaswami had a separate establishment of his own, with a cook to prepare food for him and attend to his creature comforts. The father's concern for the son's health and

uninterrupted studies was wholly responsible for all the arrangements. Sivaswami's father was not only unsparing of his purse but also of his attentions to the boy's unimpeded educational progress. Krishnaswami, his friend, was usually accompanied by Sivaswami after the college hours when he walked back home.

But the same state of affairs could not continue for long, as very soon Krishnaswami had to leave the Kumbakonam college for Madras, to seek admission to the Presidency College. Sivaswami had no other reason for breaking his stay at Kumbakonam except that he could not think of being separated from his friend. So, he secured his father's consent after a year for his exodus to Madras where in the first year of the B.A. class he and his friend together joined the Presidency College which was situated on the Marina. The Presidency College possessed a worthy record of achievements in educating young men who later played a prominent role in the various departments of administration—the executive, the judiciary and the legislative. Dr. Powell was the first headmaster and principal, under whose able administration, from a high school it grew into a premier college for the entire Presidency of Madras. At the time when the two friends became students of that college, Prof. Thompson was the principal and his distinction was in no way inferior to any of the well-known names in the field of education of those days, such as D. Miller and Mr. Porter.

Sivaswami had secured a rank much higher in the first class in the F.A. examination than his friend Krishnaswami. Both of them took philosophy for the B.A. course. Dr. David Duncan happened to be their professor. But actually when they joined the college, Dr. Duncan was on leave and Mr. Poondi Ranganatha Mudaliar acted in his place. Mudaliar normally took for the B.A. course, logic and psychology. He was a versatile savant, equally proficient in English and Tamil. Sivaswami Aiyer used to describe his voice as of baritone quality and his English of impeccable finish. About Dr. Duncan, Sivaswami Aiyer remembered to narrate an

anecdote : "One amusing incident of Dr. Duncan's lectures may be mentioned here. In the first and second weeks of his lectures he would one day omit to bring his notes and used to dismiss the class after relating an anecdote : The captain of a ship which visited a port inquired of the commander of the adjacent port why the arrival of the ship was not announced by a salute. The commander replied that he had a hundred and one reasons, the first reason being that he had no powder. The captain of the steamer then told him that he might spare himself the trouble of retailing the other hundred reasons. In the same way, Dr. Duncan told us that he had forgotten to bring his notes and could not therefore give his lectures. The curious thing about this incident was that it was repeated year after year in the class—the same omission to bring his notes and the same story in explanation."*

Dr. Duncan generally dictated his notes to the class, but Sivaswami's pen could not cope up with the speed, and if at all he attempted to take them down, his fast writing turned out often to himself illegible. He, therefore, depended on his friend, Krishnaswami, who was not only quick of grasp but equally fast in taking down the notes. There were other professors such as Mr. J.B. Bilderbeck, who taught history and was particularly good at constitutional history of England. Apart from his impressive manner of teaching, he also took an active interest in the welfare and scholastic progress of individual students. Many students had access to him out of college hours, and received individual instructions from him at his residence. Another professor, Dr. Gustav Opert, was a German scholar, whose researches in Sanskrit were published in book form. However, unattractive his German accent was in speaking English, his pains-taking efforts to instil love of Sanskrit in his pupils made him liked immensely by the student world. Besides these professors, there was Dr. W.H. Wilson of the Chemistry Department, whose capacity to draw

* A Great Liberal p. 54

students to the sciences like Chemistry, Physics and Botany, was so great, that even those who had not taken the sciences as their special subjects trooped into his classes. Both Sivaswami and his friend took permission from the principal to attend Dr. Wilson's science lectures and also to do experiments in his laboratory. By 1882, Sivaswami, though he had completed his graduation, continued with his friend Krishnaswami to attend these classes.

To reach the Presidency College in those days from Mylapore, the two friends with some other students engaged a boat which plied along the Buckingham Canal—the canal was not then a mere sewage-drain as in later years it was reduced to. Among the students, they appointed a 'Captain', as they termed him, of the boat-club. Occasionally, they resorted to *jutkas* also; but the Madras *Jutka** was not a pleasant means of transport. Its jolting on the road combined with its unwilling colt which often refused to budge an inch despite the Muslim driver's whipping, coaxing or volley of abuses, made it a very unwelcome conveyance.

During the years, 1882-1883, Sivaswami joined the law college, whose classes were then held in the same building as the Presidency College. The law course of those times was not of full time, and some of those who attended the evening lectures happened to be employed in public offices during the day. As the attendance register was with a peon at the staircase-landing, students before going up to the first floor of the building, signed themselves their names in the register. Because of this practice, they could generally give the slip to the classes in order to spend time by themselves outside. Sivaswami, with his friend, was often playing the truant, and had his valid reasons for doing so. "My friend Krishnaswami Aiyar and myself often used to do so especially in the year 1883, to look at the green sun which was one of the wonderful after-effects of the great eruption of the Karkatoa

* Horse-drawn cart

Volcano," he recollected later. Some of the lecturers, who were unimpressive, were responsible for the students disliking their classes. Since attendance to the lectures was profitless, both Sivaswami and his friend, felt it an occasion and incentive for hard work at home in their preparation for the B.L. examination.

The examination results of the year showed that out of nearly eighty candidates or so that appeared, only thirty could secure a pass. Sivaswami had put in hard work and so came out as one of the two second classes with rank. His friend, Krishnaswami, owing to a divided mind whetherto join the legal profession or the teacher's became somewhat lax in his studies, with the result, he was able only to secure a third class.

Anyhow the two friends, finally deciding to take to the legal profession, had to solve the problem of choosing a suitable senior's office for apprenticing themselves. Many considerations normally would enter into such a choice, and Sivaswami offered later his own explanation : "I believe a number of perfectly irrelevant or immaterial considerations entered into the decision as to whom you were to serve under. I suppose the choice of a master in that respect is not altogether a singular incident in one's life. Our marriages are, I believe, contracted in the same way. I do not suppose people enter into marriages with any regard to the only consideration which ought to influence them in their entering upon one of the most important chapters of a man's life."* Still, Sivaswami Aiyer had one or two very substantial reasons for choosing R. Balaji Rao, a practitioner with work both on the Original and Appellate sides of the High Court. R. Balaji Rao happened to be well known to his father and had in a way been a *loco parentis* to him in Mylapore during his college days. From the professional aspect also, it would be an advantage to him to learn work on the Original side where big trials in suits were conducted. However,

* A Great Liberal p. 228

much originally he had a feeling to join Spring Branson's office he could not do so, because of the Englishman's unwillingness to take apprentices unless he could support them during their initial stages of waiting for briefs in courts.

His friend, Krishnaswami, had also similar considerations for joining the office of R. Balaji Rao. His own father, Venkatarama Aiyar, was munsif at that time and was a good acquaintance of Balaji Rao. More than any other reason, the two friends appreciated the convenience of attending, in the mornings, an office in Mylapore itself, where they were residing.

□□□

CHAPTER III

HARD PREPARATION

The benefit likely to be derived from such a senior like Balaji Rao was not substantial, since normally seniors with a large practice could afford little time to coach up their apprentices. Still, Sivaswami with his regular habit of application to work, perused the papers in the brief bundles, noted down the authorities useful for supporting the legal position espoused by his master and did other sundry types of work connected with matters agitated in court.

While he was a law student, his marriage was celebrated. He was nineteen while his girl-wife was eight years of age. But it was more a betrothal than an actual wedding, where the bride and bridegroom performed the sacramental rites with no more consciousness of their responsibilities of living together than two actors on a stage.

His friend, Krishnaswamy, was already married and his wife happened to be the daughter of Sivaswami's tutor in Sanskrit, Ramaswami Sastri of Tiruvalangadu. Sivaswami not only approved of the choice of a bridegroom in Krishnaswami when his tutor wanted to know about his friend, but actively encouraged him to secure him for a son-in-law. Actually he played the groom's companion during the four days of the marriage festivities in Tiruvalangadu.

Being a devoted son, Sivaswami never questioned the wisdom of his parents in choosing for him a wife who was no whit fairer of complexion than himself and whose mental growth at the time of marriage could hardly be said to be anything more than a child's. Kalyani—that was his wife's name—belonged to a family which, judged by the standards of the times, was deemed rich. Her father, Vaidyanatha Aiyar, an influential land-owner of a neighbouring village, Nemam, owned vast acres. But in her behaviour, Kalyani showed no trace of her affluent bringing up. She was as much a daughter in her father-in-law's family as she was in her own. Until she attained her fourteenth year she did not join her husband.

The year 1885, was a landmark in Sivaswami's life. He was enrolled as a Vakil in April of that year and he set up practice in the High Court. He rented out a house in one of the sideways of Mylapore. Balaji Rao, his senior, had work also in Small Causes' Courts which enabled Sivaswami to appear in litigations having no stakes of much consequence. He snatched the opportunities of leisure to peruse *Mimamsa* texts of Gemini in the original Sanskrit with the assistance of a pandit. Familiarity with the rules of interpretation that a study of the *Mimamsa Sastra* could inculcate, was valuable to one getting trained for the law. He was also interested in equipping himself by regularly scanning the *Acharya Adhyaya* of the *Mitakshara*. His deep study naturally emboldened him to attempt translation into English of portions of the *Mitakshara*. His grounding in Sanskrit helped his continuation of further researches in original texts. The direct knowledge obtained from the Sanskrit originals gave him confidence to tackle legal problems in Hindu law, which otherwise a translation, however good, could not supply him in the same measure.

It is generally believed that the early years of a lawyer's practice are the most useful, in that it is just the time when he can watch how others handle their briefs, argue their cases in court and

impress judges with their points. Sivaswami Aiyer was assiduous during his attendance in courts, taking down notes of arguments and poring over reports of judgments of the Authorised Series of the three or four High Courts, in circulation during that period. Young and hopeful as he was, it required temerity to run a home in Mylapore of those days, without frequently resorting to financial aid from his parent. But there were no children born to him to cause additional burdens to bear in the initial stages of his practice.

One circumstance became very much of a disadvantage to him at the start. Within two years of his setting up practice, his father fell seriously ill at Thanjavur. Sivaswami Aiyer had to interrupt his practice and studies in order to be at his father's bedside. For nearly three months, he had to attend constantly at his father's bedside, until the patient slowly recovered and began to convalesce. It was such a strain on him, that when he returned to work, his doctors advised him to have a change of climate for recouping his own health which had run down considerably. Without informing his parents where exactly he was going, lest their notions of superstition should prevent his making a sea-voyage, he left for Ceylon, where at Neura Eliya, a health-station, situated at a height of nearly seven thousand feet above sea-level, he received the benefit of the mountain air which rapidly restored to him his former vigour. He stayed there for some weeks before returning to Madras and to his work. His father did not long survive the illness—in 1893, at the age of 53, he breathed his last, leaving young Sivaswami disconsolate and weighed with the responsibilities of the eldest member in a family with a number of brothers and sisters to look after. His mother would not leave her house in Thanjavur, and so Sivaswami necessarily had to depend on his young wife to run his domestic establishment in Mylapore.

The year 1893, in another sense marked his steady progress in the profession. He became an Assistant Professor in the Madras Law College, where his friend, Krishnaswami, also was one. He

took for the classes, the subjects of Roman Law, Torts and Contract. His preparations were so thorough and ample, that his students were not behaving in the same way as he had done while as a student of law. T.R. Vankatarama Sastri, who later became one of the leaders of the Madras Bar and was known as a publicist of untarnished reputation, was a student in 1894, with his friend, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, also as a co-student during that period. Sivaswami Aiyer, it is mentioned, used to insist on turbans being worn by students as befitting the dignity of their future calling. Srinivasa Sastri, as a student, had not much of a liking for the wearing of a turban and so he wrote in the press under the *nom-de-plume* 'Kopi' (Anon) that "the cap was a becoming and an unobjectionable headdress for a student, as for a soldier".*

The nineties of the last century were significant for the many other useful activities in which the young lawyers of Mylapore tried to engage themselves. The presence of S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, endearingly called by the shortened appellation 'Mani Aiyar', was a centre of light and attraction to the younger group. His interest in case-law with a critical penetration into it, was contagious in drawing the younger men to him for exchange of views upon questions that were debated in court and for probing further into the correctness of delivered judgements of the High Court. Thus, on Saturdays, the group used to meet at Mani Aiyar's residence for animated discussions. Subsequently the need was felt by the group for starting a legal journal which could periodically publish critical views and also report cases, which for want of space in the Authorised Reports, remained unpublished till then.

It was the occasion for the Madras Law Journal to be born, in 1891, with an objective modelled on that of the English Law Quarterly. The first few volumes of the journal would repay the student of law by the sumptuous critical notes on judgements of the

* Satabhishekam Souvenir, p. 45

various High Courts in India and jottings and original articles based on the industry and research of some of the aspiring juristic minds. C. Sankaran Nair, Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar and P.R. Sundara Aiyar were the first joint-editors of the Madras Law Journal; but after a year the death of Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar took place. After the first few years, Sankaran Nair also resigned his place on the editorial board. Thereafter, Sivaswami Aiyer stepped into his place. It is a matter of significance that Sivaswami Aiyer published serially in the pages of the Madras Law Journal, his English translations of the *Acharya Adhyayas* (book on observances, religious and moral, of the *Mitakshara*). It involved a close study of the text with adequate equipment in Sanskrit and English, as otherwise the whole effort would have been futile.

Sivaswami Aiyer could never skip through a book or gather superficial information. His reading involved concentration and thoroughness. Further, his interest was not confined to the law alone. He peered into many other fields of knowledge besides English and Sanskrit literature. He showed lively interest in books dealing with politics, economics, sociology and other subjects, thereby deepening his culture. He was never found idling away his time. Even in the days of his practice in courts, while waiting outside the court-hall for his cases to be heard, he would have some volume or other in his hand for perusal. He loved books for themselves, and while maintaining a good library of selected volumes, he took care in preserving them from the havoc of insects and white-ants. He used to handle books with utmost care.

It is interesting to know how one of his early juniors, the late T.R. Venkatarama Sastri, described his first week with Sivaswami Aiyer after having been entertained as an apprentice at law under him. "In the very first week came my first test. One night he put into my hands Ruskin's 'Sesame and Lilies' and asked me to read the title of the book. When I read 'Sesame' as a word of three

syllables, I passed the first test. He was very punctilious about pronunciation, a result, I believe, of his training under Mr. Marsh in Tanjore. Another night he bade me read the *Bhagavata Purana*, a favourite study of his. After I had read it for some time, he took it back and read it himself with feeling. It was on such occasions that I discovered, what for long remained even unknown to friends, that he was not a cold, un-emotional intellectual, but a warm-hearted person apt to be moved to tears while reading a tender passage in Sanskrit or English literature."*

Sivaswami Aiyer by then had moved into a more commodious residence, 'Vishram Bhag', on the Cutchery Road. For nearly seven or eight years he lived there, until he adjourned to 'Mādhav Bhag' in the Luz.

As a lawyer, Sivaswami Aiyer's work, both in chambers and in court was in some ways worthy of emulation. His preparation of a case, as attested to by some of his juniors, who later in their turn became great leaders of the Bar, such as T.R. Venkatarama Sastri and S. Varadachariar, was thorough and full. He was ever ready with his case to be heard and was on no account desirous of adjournments unless forced by circumstances. However, normal was his rise in the profession when compared with some of his contemporaries who had made rapid strides even in the initial stages, it could not be said to have been unenviable. For his reputation for soundness and knowledgeability stood equal to theirs, although his practice was not so large or varied. Here is an account of Venkatarama Sastri concerning the painstaking preparation of a case that Sivaswami Aiyer was capable of : "I remember a note of argument, Mr. Sivaswami Aiyer prepared in a reported Godavari Lanka case, for use of counsel in argument before the Privy Council. Night after night for several days, sitting till a late hour, he dictated and I took down, the note which collected

* Satabhishekam Vol. p. 86

all the learning on vertical and lateral accretions to be gathered from Indian, English and American decisions and text books. . . The note elicited warm praise from Lord Haldane".* Lord Haldane was a member of the Judicial Committee which heard the case.

Another quality of his was his sense of fairness to his opponents in dealing with a case in court. Speaking of him, S. Varadachariar, later to become a judge of the Federal Court, drew attention to an early incident that had occurred in court : "Once before justice Subrahmania Aiyar, he felt bound to bring to his notice an authoritative ruling that was adverse to his own client's case, even when the opposite side was unaware of it; but the great judge appreciated Sivaswami Aiyer's sense of fairness."**

Indeed, as an advocate he set before himself a very high standard of duty. In his opinion, an advocate owed a duty not only to his client but also to the court. His sense of duty towards the client without identifying himself with the case or feeling himself wholly responsible for the result in the end, was something unusual.

To know of the enviable treatment he had extended to his apprentices or juniors in his office, it would be appropriate to have it from one who had served him for a fairly good number of years in the role of a junior. After having completed his apprenticeship, S. Varadachariar had to wait sometime for his enrolment as a Vakil. The main cause for the delay in his being called to the Bar, was due to his lack of finance to pay the *Sanad* fee to get himself enrolled. Guessing shrewdly his straits, Aiyer offered him a cheque which went a great way to relieve him of the burden and responsibility of finding the money.

Six and a half years, Varadachariar served in his office and during the period of Sivaswami Aiyer's Advocate Generalship, he

* Satabhishekam Volume, p. 48

** Birth Centenary Volume, p. 16

played a very significant role as an able assistant to the leader in his official work of providing legal opinions to the Government.

Never once, Varadachariar remembers, had Sivaswami Aiyer failed to bless him in the words of the *Smriti* text, whenever he made his prostrations to him as an elder and *guru*.

His manner of address in court was somewhat unprepossessing, and he never rose to great eloquence. His voice too was neither strong nor capable of variations of pitch. But at the same time, he impressed on the judges and others, of a deliberate manner in his arguments, expressed in correct language and with faultless pronunciation. He was averse to hustling through a case, nor liked to trip his opponents unawares, or impede their progress by interruptions, which some of his contemporaries, according to him, developed as an art. No doubt, he had to contend against strong rivals such as V. Krishnaswami Aiyar and P.R. Sundara Aiyar, who were rather rapid of delivery in their speech as also quicker of a reply or retort in argument. However, Sivaswami Aiyer never sought the same methods of his contemporaries, but pursued his own plan in court. While others in his position could have felt more offended with what underservedly sometimes he had to suffer at the hands of his opponents, he bore no rancour nor retaliated in the same fashion. To the last of his days, his own opinion of them lacked neither sincerity nor forbearance of their faults. P.R. Sundara Aiyar became more and more associated with V. Krishnaswami Aiyar in many of the public activities, and Sivaswami Aiyer, became conscious of the gradually growing distance between him and his life-long friend. Still, he showed no ill will or jealousy. There was about him and his behaviour a poise and equanimity, which despite occasions for provocation, never got disturbed.

Even while he was comparatively not a leading figure in the profession, he was not indifferent to public affairs. There was a small association by the name Mylapore Athenaeum, where its

members discussed problems concerning the social welfare and progress of the citizens. Many of the members who had participated in the deliberations of that body, became later important citizens of Madras. When a Royal Commission on Public Services visited Madras in 1887, and examined leading citizens of the place, Sivaswami Aiyer was chosen by the Mylapore Athenaeum to represent the body and tender evidence before the Commission, which was presided over by Sir Charles Aitchison. Inexperienced as he was his conscientious equipment for the task should have been such as to have induced that body to repose much confidence in what he had to present in evidence.

It is also necessary to follow him in his work in the University affairs. In 1898, he was elected to the Senate of the University of Madras. It was only as a Senate member, he presented his evidence before the Universities Commission of 1902, which went round the country receiving evidence from many of the enlightened and public-spirited men. From the Senate he represented the graduate constituency in the Madras Legislative Council from 1904 until he became the Advocate General. He was the first Indian to be elected by the Senate to the Council.

As a member of the Senate, he was ever alert to support measures which redounded to the lasting credit of the academic body. He was instrumental in putting through a resolution of V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, for the conferment of the degree of '*Siromani*' on the successful students who had completed their Sanskrit studies in the *Sastras*. Until then the University's recognition by a degree was not accorded to those who had studied *Sastras* in college where Sanskrit education was solely imparted.

Sivaswami Aiyer, apart from helping Sanskrit higher studies recognised by the Madras University, was solely responsible for sanctioning a scheme for a Sanskrit educational foundation (institution) by the formation of the Tiruvaiyaru Maharaja's

Sanskrit College. He further showed concern in the actual working of the institution, by insisting on a syllabus of studies to be prepared in the various *Sastras*. The Madras Sanskrit College had by then become well established in its scheme of studies and syllabus in the various branches of the *Sastras*. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri (later to become a Mahamahopadhyaya) was at the head of the Sanskrit College and was an able principal and scholar, and hence Sivaswami Aiyer secured his services for the new institution.

In 1907, the Advocate Generalship was offered to him in succession to C. Sankaran Nair, who had been elevated to the Bench of the Madras High Court. His work as an Advocate General was praiseworthy, as he never gave his opinions to the Government to suit their inclinations. On the other hand, on occasions he showed firmness of opinion in order to bring home to the Government of the day, their responsibility for some of the ill-drafted legislation passed by them as well as their failure to appreciate fully the cooperation that might come from the educated public, provided proper assistance was sought of them.

In a lengthy article by him to a volume entitled "Indian Politics" published by G.A. Natesan (1898), he severely criticised the bad drafting of legislations. To illustrate his point he mentioned the Guardians and Wards Act of 1890, and the Civil Procedure Code, Chapter XIX. Speaking of Section 30 of the Act, he exposed the clumsiness of its drafting :

"Under the Bengal Minor's Act, it had been held that a mortgage of a minor's property without the sanction of Court was *void ab initio*. It was probably felt that it was sufficient for the protection of the minor's interest to declare the transaction voidable. The transaction might in many cases be advantageous to the minor and it might be desirable for him to ratify it. Section 30 of the present Act, which was introduced to effect this object, declares that the transaction is voidable at the instance of any other

person affected thereby. These words suggest that it is voidable at the instance of persons other than the minor and that it is not voidable at his instance. But this would be preposterous and the section has to be construed with reference to the intention of the Legislature rather than with reference to the language."*

His keenness of observation finds also a place in his opinion which was balanced in its general tenor. He wrote : "But the sense of humour forsakes the Englishman, when he puts forward a claim to know the natives of this country better than their own educated countrymen. If the Government will abandon the policy of distrust and treat the views of the educated classes with greater consideration, it will supply itself with better means, than it now possesses, of gauging the sentiments of the people and placing its legislative machinery in touch with the people. In every country, the educated classes are the guides of the people and it would be a grievous mistake to imagine that the opinions held by such classes in India do not represent the views of the people, unless they are endorsed by turbulent mass-meeting."**

Even as early as 1900, he had felt the need for some form of codification of the Hindu law, but then he was timely also in cautioning that the codification should attempt to do only such portions of Hindu law that were in a fluid condition, and in regard to which consultation with Hindu lawyers of ability and experience should be a first desideratum.

The piecemeal amendments made then in the Civil Procedure Code, The Limitation Act and the Transfer of Property Act received next his scrutiny. He suggested that a Law Commission empanelled by an equal proportion of Englishmen and Indians of experience in legal matters should go into the particulars requiring changes.

* A Great Liberal, p. 201

** A Great Liberal, p. 202

Another very significant activity in which Sivaswami Aiyer was engaged was the formation of the Vakils' Association which was founded in 1889, with P. Anandacharlu, then a leader of the legal profession, as the chariman. In the old register preserved by that body, the name of P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer is found among those of the founder members. At the annual gathering of the members in 1909, S.Sivaswami Aiyengar (a great lawyer and patriot) read a paper on Hindu Law Reforms. Sivaswami Aiyer, as Advocate General, was requested to take the chair, and he made certain remarks which showed the serious thought he had brought to bear on such problems. There were many ideas in that paper deemed then as of a highly controversial nature. Still Sivaswami Aiyer expressed his agreement with the measures proposed in the paper when he said "As for myself, I confess that I am in sympathy with many of the suggestions."

When Sivaswami Aiyer was appointed Advocate General in 1907, there was a strong protest from the Bar Association composed of barristers, on the ground that only a barrister was entitled to hold the office because of his superiority to a Vakil and of his capacity for leadership of the profession. It may be remembered that this myth had already been exploded by V. Bashyam Aiyengar. The Chamber of Commerce also actively joined in the protest. But the Government and the Secretary of State were not convinced at all by the arguments underlying the protest, with the result, Sivaswami Aiyer was confirmed soon in the office.

By this time, his reputation for solid merit began to be widely felt. Apart from his membership of the Senate of the University of Madras, he had been for some time previously, the Secretary of the Council of Native Education—a body of which S. Subrahmania Aiyar was president for sometime and in whose discussions V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, as a headmaster, often participated.

Sivaswami Aiyer was asked to give evidence before the Indian Universities Commission. He did his task with

considerable ability and judgement. His interest in public life was thus directed towards activities which never assumed a demonstrative character. His participation in the Congress and its open sessions was limited as far as we are able to judge. His name figured at the Congress session of 1895, at Poona. Evidently, since then, Sivaswami Aiyer had been concerning himself with the military problem, for it was in that Congress that D.E. Wacha made a powerful speech condemning the military burdens that India had been bearing for England owing to her position as a dependency.

Apart from some of these public activities, Sivaswami Aiyer evinced a genuine concern for the tillers of the soil in his own native district of Thanjavur. In those days many of the districts used to have yearly conferences. Some of the pressing problems were discussed in these conferences in order to invite the Government's attention. Matters relating to the entire presidency also would receive a survey at such conferences. Sivaswami Aiyer was invited to preside over the Thanjavur Conference in 1895 and his presidential speech evoked much interest in all quarters including the Government.

There was a royal Commission appointed by the Parliament to go round India and ascertain the views of important publicists concerning decentralisation of authority in order to create more of direct contact between the ruled and the rulers. Sir William Meyer was the Chairman of the Commission and he was assisted in the work by a panel of officials drawn from both Englishmen and Indians. Romesh Chandra Dutt, an able Indian Civilian, noted for his attainments as a writer, happened to be a member of the Commission. It visited Madras in 1907. Sivaswami Aiyer, Krishnaswami Aiyar, Sundara Aiyar and other lawyers of eminence were required to study the questionnaire of the Commission beforehand and state their views.

Sivaswami Aiyer's sense of balance and preparedness to meet any situation can be easily inferred from some of the answers

to questions he had given on that occasion. First, on the right of appeal in administrative actions the question asked of him was : "Do you think that it should be curtailed or not?" His answer was along these lines : "I think the right of appeal whether to the Government of India or to the Local Government should not be curtailed, whether in respect of administrative action, or in respect of any orders affecting officers of Government personally. I do not think it desirable to impose the condition, with regard to such appeals, that unless accompanied by a certificate, the appeal should not be entertained. . . It would be very unwise, in my opinion, to restrict the right of appeal only to cases in which the officers against whom the appeal is made feels a doubt; because although he may not feel any doubt, he may be absolutely wrong, and it would be very unpopular to restrict the right of appeal. Officers aggrieved by orders affecting them, and people aggrieved by administrative actions affecting them, would generally be anxious to secure justice at the hands of higher authorities, if they could not secure justice at the hands of the local officials."*

This is a vital principle enunciated by Administrative Law which had not become a subject of study for lawyers then, requiring to be mooted in courts of the times.

Another question asked of him by the Commission related to the necessity of officers learning the language of the people. He replied : "It is eminently desirable and necessary that the officers themselves should be able to converse directly with the people."

On the question of revival of panchayats, Sivaswami Aiyer stated : "I should be disposed to entrust certain matters to the village authorities; for instance, the control of the village police." He suggested that the jurisdiction in civil cases might be raised from Rs. 20/- then prevailing, to Rs. 50/-, and in criminal

* A Great Liberal, p. 285

matters the village authorities might have something of powers corresponding to Honorary or Bench Magistrates in towns.

Individually also the Chairman and R.C. Dutt questioned him, and mostly the questions related to increasing the contacts between the rulers and the ruled which was emphasised a great deal by Sivaswami Aiyer.

□□□

CHAPTER IV

PUBLIC OFFICES

While Sivaswami Aiyer was Advocate General for nearly five years he had shown a very high sense of duty and legal conscience. C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who a decade later succeeded to the same office, had opportunities to scan some of Sivaswami Aiyer's opinions tendered to the Government. He referred to the subject in a speech long afterwards, thus :

"Having followed him as Advocate General later on, I can testify, and I have publicly stated it, to his independence of judgement, impartiality of his opinions, and to his dignified, though quiet, assertion of his views—my view is based on a study of the opinion tendered by him to the government of those days."*

Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar also during his term of Advocate Generalship, with a longer record of service (from 1929 to 1944), used always to consult only two of his predecessors in the matter of form and presentation of substance as his guides—namely, P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer and S. Srinivasa Aiyengar. The former, according to him, was lucid and balanced of his presentation of views and the latter terse of expression and brilliant in exposition of the law.

In 1908, soon after he became Advocate General, he was conferred upon the distinction of the Commander of the Indian

* A Great Liberal, XXVI

Empire (C.I.E.)—an honour which the British rulers deemed of great significance.

In December 1911, when V. Krishnaswami Aiyar passed away prematurely while in office as the Indian member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, naturally the name of Sivaswami Aiyer occurred to the Governor, Lord Carmichael. In 1912, in the month of February he was offered the membership of the Executive Council, which he accepted.

It was not well known outside that P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer declined an offer of judgeship of the High Court. Unlike others who would have liked wide publicity for the rejection of such an offer, he rarely made it appear to be of great significance. It was much later during his *Satabhishekam* that his *chela*, T.R. Venkatarama Sastri, gave the fact wider publicity by mentioning it in a brief sketch about the man.

The years during which he held the office in the Executive Council were not at all conducive to an Indian member's hopes of doing good to his people. Many were the occasions when the Englishmen in authority did not see eye to eye with Indians. Lord Pentland, the new Governor, was a Conservative and his whole view of the administration was one for a strong Executive. His sympathies were not with Indians, but only with those Englishmen who thought like him. Sivaswami Aiyer had therefore a very unfavourable atmosphere to work in and contribute his cooperation to those in the administration. His tenure of office lay almost entirely during the governorship of Lord Pentland, a latter part of which extended also during the first World War of 1914-1918. The British were determined to impose their will on the Indian people. Sivaswami Aiyer, although objecting to some of the repressive measures adopted by the Government, could only express his dissent in his minutes which formed part of the Council proceedings. The Executive Council was something like a cabinet of later days; the same joint responsibility for actions bound

Sivaswami Aiyer to his oath of secrecy, thereby preventing him from even letting himself known outside as a dissenter in some of the administrative acts calculated to stifle the spirit of patriotism.

One such occasion certainly deserves wider knowledge. Many may be familiar with the episode of Mrs. Besant's internment with her two coadjutors, Dr. George Arundale and B.P. Wadia, during the first World War, for activities in connection with the Indian Home Rule movement. The Pentland Government tried to put down the movement with a firm hand and so interned her (Mrs. Besant) at Coimbatore. Sivaswami Aiyer was totally against the action and he had a mind not to yield to persuasion of his colleagues, and if the occasion demanded it, to resign his office. But he did not resign, though he wrote a very strong dissenting minute. Only after a long time the actual details came to light. But until then everybody, including Dr. Besant, believed that he had been a party to the repressive measure. Abuses were poured on his head that he was lacking in patriotism and fawning on the powers that be.

After the introduction of the Montford Reforms, when Dyarchy was introduced and a few elected persons of the then Legislative Council were chosen to become ministers and to administer the 'Transferred' subjects, the official secret was let out. One of the ministers, a friend of Mrs. Besant, took a copy of the dissenting minute of Sivaswami Aiyer and sent it to her. She was a woman of great sincerity and her nature would not allow her remaining quiet without confessing her own folly in misunderstanding Sivaswami Aiyer's attitude towards her. But he was unwilling to pardon the minister for violating the Official Secrets Act.

Another matter worth knowing relates to the insistence of Sivaswami Aiyer on the Government not to rely on the plea of limitation or other technical objections when refunds of taxes on legitimate grounds were claimed by assesseees. This view seems

to have received no support in the Executive Council and his dissenting minute alone was the outcome of his labours.

C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who came to hold the office of a member of the Executive Council during the regime of Lord Wellington had occasion more than once to express his profound admiration for Sivaswami Aiyer's nature in never allowing personal claims to defeat public responsibility which he shared with others as an official. C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar said : "As member of the Executive Council, again, I can, from personal knowledge, contradict those persons who regarded him as deficient in courage. Although, very often he was in minority of one, he never failed to express, with instructed insistence, his own view point. But what was characteristic of Sir Sivaswami Aiyer was that he never let people know what he had done. The vow of official secrecy which he took was uniformly observed by him although this vow was too often facilely broken by those who sought temporary popularity as independent and liberal-minded statesmen; Sivaswami Aiyer's gift of silence, was as marked and as valuable as his gift of measured speech."*

Another quality of his during his official life was never to allow prejudices to sway his decision in matters of administration. Once he was asked to select an officer to be lent to a princely state. Two men were interviewed, and to test their character he individually queried each, of his personal opinion of the other. One spoke appreciatingly of the other while the other decried the former. Sivaswami Aiyer had personally certain strong objections to that person who was appreciative of the other candidate. Despite his personal disinclination towards him, he selected him purely for his higher nature and sense of fairness in judgement.**

Another matter in which the government of Lord Pentland was engaged happened to be the revision of laws regarding self-

* A Great Liberal, XXV

** Satabhishekam Souvenir, p. 290

governing institutions like the Corporation of Madras and other local boards. Sivaswami Aiyer spent a great part of his time and energy in seeking to make the institutions predominantly non-official elected bodies free of official control. Further, he wanted a gradual introduction of the Indian element in the official ranks of both the Madras Corporation and other large mofussil municipalities. The introduction of a qualified District Board engineer, mainly drawn from the ranks of Indians, was one of the reforms that he, as a member of the Executive Council, effected. Despite internal differences, present sometimes between himself and his colleagues in the Executive Council, he, as one belonging to the Executive, always defended the action of the Government in the Legislative Chamber. Thus he did not allow his personal inclinations to interfere with his responsibility as a member of the Government. One must remember that the sense of complete responsibility for actions of the Executive had not been well defined in those days when responsible government had not been introduced in any shape.

As samples of his minutes one or two can be given in extracts. Dealing with the Panchayat system (28-7-1913) he opined:*

"It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss the somewhat academical question whether the Panchayat system now contemplated would be a revival or a new creation. Even if the system did not exist in former times, it deserves to be introduced, just like the other self-governing bodies we have already established. From the administrative point of view, the relief which such a system will bring to the general administrative machinery of the government is, to say the least, not a negligible advantage. The argument that the efficiency of village administration is not likely to be improved by a panchayat is, even if true, not entitled to much weight.

* A Great Liberal, p. 290

"As regards the capacity of a Panchayat for the exercise of judicial functions, I am one of those who believe that the panchayat will be able to ascertain the truth and administer justice better than a single judge.

"On the question whether the administrative panchayat should also exercise judicial functions, I am inclined to agree with the Hon. Sir Harold Stuart in considering that it would be a great mistake to have a separate panchayat for judicial work. . . The principle that no man shall be a judge in his own case is of course one of the most elementary maxims of Natural Justice and if any member of the panchayat is personally interested in any case, he should certainly be disqualified by Section 6 of the Village Courts Act. . ."

Writing about the powers to be entrusted to the panchayat he listed the following :—

- (1) Control of village sanitation;
- (2) Enforcement of vaccination in the village;
- (3) Execution of minor local works;
- (4) Maintenance of fuel and fodder reserves and control of unreserved lands;
- (5) Management of cattle pounds, markets, and fairs;
- (6) Regulating turns of irrigation;
- (7) Enforcement of 'Kudimaramat' (maintenance of public works by local people);
- (8) Construction and maintenance of village school buildings;
- (9) Regulation of hours of attendance, holidays and prizes in village schools;
- (10) Management of village forests in accordance with Forest Committee's recommendations;

- (11) Control of tanks, fisheries, cattle stands, threshing floor and other properties belonging to the villagers in common.

The minute concludes thus :

"Seeing that the success of the experiment contemplated will, to a large extent, depend upon the personality of the village headman, it is very necessary that the question of enhancing the dignity and attractiveness of the office should be separately taken up for examination and dealt with without loss of time."*

Rebutting the statement made by one Mr. Brodie in his memorandum that "the village community is still aristocratic and that, as it is impossible to place the *coolly* and the *pariah* on the panchayat and as the panchayat would have absolute powers within certain limits, the landless and the labouring classes are sure to be oppressed by members of the landholding and employer classes", Sivaswami Aiyer made the observation: "I do not know that in any country which had adopted manhood suffrage, the classes corresponding to the *coolly* and *pariah* are represented in any representative assembly; nor am I aware of the establishment and development of local authority were delayed on the ground of objection similar to those advanced by Mr. Brodie and endorsed by the Board, or that any form of Constitution in which the lowest classes are not represented must result in injustice and oppression."**

In another minute dated 20-8-1915, Sivaswami Aiyer wrote:—

"It seems to me that, *prima facie*, every village with a population of 5,000 or more is fit to be constituted a Union and should be provided with a panchayat to administer its affairs under the Local Boards Act. As a matter of policy I would lay down that

* A Great Liberal, p. 296

** A Great Liberal, p. 292

villages which partake of an urban character should *pro tanto* meet the requirements of their civic existence from their own resources and thus to some extent relieve the burden upon the general revenue which is mainly drawn from the rural tracts.

"In the absence of any special circumstances, the new Unions should consist of single villages with their appurtenant hamlets. . . The clubbing together of different villages often gives rise to friction and a dissatisfaction on account of a greater expenditure in the most important village of the Union and the comparative neglect of the requirements of other villages. An artificial Union comprised of two or more villages must necessarily be lacking in the elements of that solidarity of interest which is essential to corporate life and which is more often not to be found among the residents of different villages."

He was for giving subventions for starting works of permanent utility to such villages as could be classified of a bigger size with a population not exceeding 10,000.

It may seem interrupting abruptly the trend of the development of his mind if readers are taken back to the period of his Vice-Chancellorship of the Madras University in 1916 and the Banaras Hindu University in 1918. While in office as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, he was offered the honorary post of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras by the then Governor as Chancellor. He accepted it without much of hesitation, as he was sure that the work would not involve whole-time responsibility. In those days, i.e., before the Madras University Act of 1922 was passed, the place of the Vice-Chancellor was purely honorary though it enjoyed great prestige. It was not then a full-time job and was more or less a position which was accorded to distinguished men reputed for their outstanding culture and beneficent services to the country.

S. Subrahmanya Aiyar was Vice-Chancellor during his judgeship of the High Court of Madras. K. Srinivasa Aiyengar, who later became a Member of the Executive Council (1920-1923) during the Dyarchy, had also been the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. For two years (1916-1918) Sivaswami Aiyer occupied with distinction the position of Vice-Chancellor. When he accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University he felt that working in an old university like that of Madras with established and longstanding policies and procedures, he had been unable to accomplish much on his own initiative. So he was unwilling to let go any opportunity for doing something afresh, consistent with the interest in educational ideals that he had all along been cherishing. But, as he mentioned in his letter to Pandit Malaviya, "In a national University there is a great temptation to all kinds of fanatical faddists to press their views, and singularity or want of precedent would be no objection to any proposal." Hence, with a certain amount of circumspection, he remarked : "It is matter for consideration whether one should continue to be responsible for carrying out a policy of which he does not approve."

So much hesitation on his part in accepting the place of the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University brings out how generally cautious he was and how he weighed all the possibilities of a question before arriving at any conclusion. His fears about his not having a free hand in running the university on proper lines turned out to be true. On account of the incompatibility of certain of his principles with the policy he was forced to adopt at the University, he had to resign the Vice-Chancellorship soon after the completion of one year.

Under the new Reforms, in 1920, he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Assembly from the Tanjore-Trichy Constituency. During the period of his membership of the Assembly he had made real contributions to the discussion of subjects like finance, defence, etc. In 1921, on the question of

referring the finance bill to a joint committee of both the Assembly and the Council of State, there was difference of opinion arising from the objection of persons like Dr. Gour who contended that the statute, (The Government of India Act) did not permit of any such joint select committee before passing a finance bill. In dealing with the constitutionality of the procedure. Sivaswami Aiyer made it clear how an analogy of the practice of the British Parliament would be inaccurate, as the British Parliament under a flexible constitution was rather guarded by convention and tradition than by a statute as in the case of India. He foresaw no diminution of the rights or privileges of the Assembly if a joint committee were to go into the bill. He suggested a via media also by way of answering some of the people who feared it would be setting up a bad precedent. He said : " I would suggest to you two solutions. The one is to enter a solemn caveat that without in any way committing ourselves to a similar practice in future years, we shall now refer the Finance Bill for this year to a Joint Committee. For future years what I would suggest to you, with all respect, is to appoint a committee to consider, in consultation with the Members of Government, the proper way of dealing with the budget as to how it should be brought, when it may be disposed of, and how the inconveniences to the Exchequer from postponing the passing of the Finance Bill may be obviated. . . All that I appeal to you to do, is not to reject the motion to refer the Bill to a Joint Select Committee, but to accept the motion this year."*

His weighty views on the military and defence problems are dealt with in a subsequent chapter. As an elected member of the Imperial Council he served from 1920 to 1923, and then continued for another term as a nominated member from 1923 to 1926. He was not inclined to stand for election once again after his first term, but finding him a very useful contributor to discussions on important matters the government requested him to serve as a nominated member.

□□□

* A Great Liberal, p. 326-327

CHAPTER V

"CONSERVATIVE WEDDED TO PROGRESS"

It was Winston Churchill who wrote : "Democracy is not based on violence or terrorism, but on reason, on fair play, on freedom, on respecting the rights of other people. Democracy is not a harlot to be picked up in the street by a man with a tommy gun. I trust the people, the mass of the people, in almost any country, but I like to make sure that it is the people and not a gang of bandits who think that by violence they can overturn constituted authority, in some cases, ancient parliaments, governments and States."

The concept of Liberalism, according to the Indian school, conformed to what Churchill had stated as above. If as John Stuart Mill feared, a people after obtaining free government found themselves unequal to the task of administration, or if they would not be unsparing of both energy and sacrifice for upholding their liberty to choose the form of government they require, or if they would allow themselves to be ruled by a strong man, then the liberty that they had won would be a waste. It only shows that when people need self-government, they should broaden their outlook by education, widen their experience by constant regulation and self-discipline and work for the country's benefit with the least violation of moral and ethical principles.

The principles of Liberalism inculcated by men, such as Mahadev Govinda Ranade, Gopalkrishna Gokhale and V.S. Srinivasa

Sastri ran on these lines. The liberal outlook implied a system of education which would not stop with immediate results, but would aim at a wider scope for it, instilling patriotism blended with a sense of responsibility, to render social service while retaining good manners under any circumstance. Regular study and hard preparation for political work was a desideratum, as otherwise the impact of problem on people in their intensity might easily dislocate the politician from pursuing the correct action. The training in military service was another essential, because without it the entire superstructure of freedom could not be built.

What, according to the Liberals in India, were the fundamentals of their creed? It can be put in a nutshell, that Liberalism was "constitutionalism and gradualism, as opposed to extremism, direct action and revolution, which appealed to the school of nationalists led by Tilak."* Mahadev Govinda Ranade, the *guru* of Gokhale, interpreted Liberalism thus : "The spirit of behaviour implies freedom from race and creed prejudices and steady devotion to all that seeks justice between man and man, giving to the rulers the loyalty that is due to the law they are bound to administer, but securing at the same time to the people the equality which is their right under the law."**

So far as Indian political progress was concerned, the implications of Liberalism related to (1) acceptance of British connection; (2) evolutionary growth depending on moderation; (3) cooperation with government whenever possible; and (4) opposition to the government whenever necessary. Gokhale was in every sense a true Liberal accepting a large outlook and moderation in the measures for winning a progressive participation in the Government.

Educated in a country and in an atmosphere which had long

* B.R. Kumar's article, "Gokhale, Gandhi and Liberalism" in the Madras Mail (May 7, 1968)

** *Ibid*

cherished the kernel of *Acharya* (good conduct) and *Dharma* (rectitude) in human endeavour, it would have been only a departure from ancient moorings for a learned person to ignore these high principles of Liberalism. Sivaswami Aiyer belonged to a generation which retained the fundamentals of a culture and an ancient religion both of which ingrained in them some of the most valuable of human attributes for the maintenance of democratic ideals. It was selective in its taste, generous in its gifts, catholic in its receptivity of good points in other persuasions and generally tolerant of differences in religious outlook. No doubt, Western education brought with it a few more useful additions to the human aspect of viewing things.

Democracy depends very much on the efficient working of a party system. But it does not mean at once that persons who submit to the control and discipline of the party must be asphyxiated of their breath of individual freedom. Political theorists necessarily dwell upon that in the competition between the exaltation of the State and the freedom of the individual it must be possible for the State as well as the individual to sustain and subserve each other's existence. Still there can be another difficult problem facing men, namely, whether the party or the individual ultimately is to hold its or his own. In practice, in the name of party discipline, inroads into the freedom of the individual, both in his thought and speech may take place. It is here the Liberal in politics blows a fresh breath into an uncongenial atmosphere. He does not rush without weighing in the balance the pros and cons of a situation or question. Once T.H. Huxley was queried as to why he did not become a member of Parliament. Instantaneously came his reply that since he had dedicated himself to the pursuit of truth and not to its obscuration, he was unwilling to get stuck in the mire of politics. To a great extent Huxley's observation could be supported, especially when we find that in the party system often people are systematically made to do violence to truth.

Sivaswami Aiyer had enjoyed the fruits of a liberal education, and therefore he was often found to think for himself and express his views with no concern for popularity. The Liberals in India, however, much they called themselves as belonging to a party, found themselves as individuals with differing views on particular questions facing the country. Shankar's cartoon once exposed the Liberals for their too great a caution and unpractical sense of individuality. Under the title "The March of the Liberals" the cartoonist drew some of the top Liberals as if proceeding along a road with every kind of aid for lighting their path, as for instance, a torch, a lamp, a lantern with bull's-eye etc., scanning the ground underneath in the light so carefully focussed that lifting a foot meant for them risking a great deal of its safe landing on sure earth. The cartoon ridiculed a party whose elaborately considered and measured progress in political advance could never take it to its destination in any conceivably short time.

We have to remember the situation in the country when a schism occurred in the Congress between the Liberals, known as Moderates at the time, and the extremists. Lord Curzon, who was the Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1906, brought about by his partition of Bengal a great ferment in the hearts of the patriots. To quote V.S. Srinivasa Sastri: "Lord Curzon's regime gave no end of themes for attack. But the poverty of people, their appalling ignorance, the increasing death rate, the indebtedness of the peasantry, the frequency of famines and the low state of sanitation furnished a gruesome background for the picture. The devouring military expenditure, the enormous drain of the country's resources, the denial of even to competent Indians, at one time tacit, but now avowed, of a due and proper share of the higher services, the subordination and neglect of Indian interests in the management of finance and conduct of affairs, and the profound moral debasement caused by the disarmament of the whole nation and compulsory disuse of the highest faculties of pluck, initiative and guidance

of bold policies—each had its due place and just emphasis in an indictment admirably conceived and aptly phrased."*

The Surat split of 1907 in the Congress showed that leaders like Tilak Lajpat Rai and Bepin Chandra Pal were not satisfied with the method of constitutional agitation through petitions and memorials to an unfeeling government. In the course of a decade there were clearer signs of an active section of the Congress trying to chalk out a bolder programme of action, with the result, that later in 1918, Sir Dinshaw Edulgee Wacha, a long-tried servant of the great organisation, announced a separate conference of the Moderates. This separation from the mainstream of the nation's agitation for self-government, caused a distinct identification of the constitutional method with the Liberal party which gradually dwindled into insignificance in the face of Mahatma Gandhi's insuperable capacity for rallying the masses to the goal of '*Purna Swaraj*'. Moderates were heartened up in their programme only by "the great possibilities of earnest and persistent agitation conducted without recourse to violence and crime." The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1908, only confirmed the prognostications of the extreme section, that Morley, despite his professions in public was at heart an 'ordinary imperialist'. It became therefore natural for the nationalists to conclude that without direct action in the shape of non-cooperation, boycott of British institutions, *swadeshi* movement etc., freedom could not be wrested from the foreigners. Later, Gandhiji unleashed the forces of a more concentrated form of agitation. The Moderates did, according to an unbiased estimate of their programme and policy, everything in their power "wedded to constitutional lines of work and excluding nothing that may advance the common good of the country."

Sivaswami Aiyer by his temperament and nature disliked any type of demonstration in politics or in socio-economic affairs.

* My Master Gokhale, p. 45

His was always the path of reason and persuasion and never of violence or direct action calculated to dislocate the prevailing order or the established system. Even at the cost of creating wrong impressions sometimes, he could not but be slow, deliberate and even unaffected by lack of response. It was remarked by Srinivasa Sastri that "there is a leisureliness about him which is engaging, but apt to discompose when you have business awaiting you. Gokhale once told me of the impatience of the members of the Madras Government and his own Services Commission of 1912, when Sir Sivaswami Aiyer conducted them step by step through the entire length of the controversy from beginning to end, taking nothing for granted and oblivious of the diminishing attention of his audience."* The Public Services Commission of which Gokhale was a member visited many parts of India and received evidence from leading men. It was before that Commission that P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer had occasion to present the picture of the political scene in Madras then, when the Justice Party was in its stage of incubation.

Sivaswami Aiyer's views concerning the proposals of the next consignment of Reforms of 1919, have fortunately been preserved in the pages of the magazine, *Servant of India*, Poona. The reactions of his were formed not from an actual perusal of the copy of the Southborough Committee's Report on the Reforms, but from the press extracts that had appeared in advance. He was, therefore, careful to mention that they were his general impressions. But nevertheless one finds his attention had been directed in minute detail to what struck him as points for agreement as well as those deserving criticism. He was satisfied that the author of the report did not much discuss theories which would entail controversy and delay but plunged into an actual attempt at reconciliation. He was for the immediate introduction of the scheme, however, defective it was in minor details. He was also

* Satabhishekam Volume, p. 59

in agreement with the proposals regarding the strength of the legislative councils of the Provinces and of the Central Legislature and the upper house termed then, the Council of State. Female suffrage according to him, was a bit premature at that state.

The essential element of dyarchy that was introduced by the Reforms received his approbation. Still on the allocation of subjects he had his sound remarks noted down: "As regards the question which of the subjects are to be transferred to popular control, the proposals of the Committee are quite sound so far as they go, and the proposals of the Government of India is so far as they dissent from recommendations of the Committee are open to the most serious objection. I would refer in particular to their proposals in regard to the subjects of education or industries. The arguments in favour of including these in the class of Reserved subjects are particularly weak and unconvincing. If the educational policy in the past has been a failure, it is the Government that have been responsible for it. . . and it is high time that the control of the whole subject of education should be transferred from the official government to the popular government."*

When the entire Bill embodying the principle of dualism of the Executive was presented in the Imperial Council, he once again bestowed his serious attention and wrote an article on the subject, in the *Indian Review*. He reiterated the need for inclusion of education in the transferred half. "The proposal to transfer only primary education, reserving secondary, collegiate and technical education, would lead to an imbalance of development in the branches of education. The impetus to education would be greater under popular control than under official guidance."** He was unconvinced also by the arguments for retaining land revenue in the reserved half.

* A Great Liberal, p. 304-305

* *Ibid* p. 305

The most retrograde part of the scheme related, according to him, to the proposal for resumption of transferred subjects, on the Governor finding any minister recalcitrant or unsubmitive to his wishes or proposals on any matter of administration. He wrote: "The existence of such powers of resumption and revocation of transfer will be a Democles' sword over the heads of ministers to enforce compliance with the wishes of the official half of the Government, and will be detrimental to the growth of a sense of responsibility in the ministers and the legislature."+

On the question of the Governor General's Executive Council, the proposal to add one more Indian member to the Council was, according to him, insufficient in view of the likelihood of the Indian element becoming a minority during any attempt to take decisions over controversial matters.

His moderation was discernible only when it was a question of direct agitation in an unconstitutional manner over any matter, but when it reduced itself to expression of opinion his language gained directness and force. His sense of detachment and sobriety in his expression of views shaped after serious study of a problem was a distinct feature of all his utterances and writings.

The Jallianwalah Bagh massacre of 1919 sent throughout the country a wave of shock and anger. The country's feelings were outraged when the Hunter Committee's report appeared to be supporting the killings and even justifying the acts of General Dyer as necessary for saving India from an otherwise huge disorder and rebellion fraught with dire consequences. Sivaswami Aiyer's condemnation of the report will certainly exonerate him from the general disapproval of his unemotional attitude during very stirring times, when the national honour happened to be at stake. In his long article in the *New India* he observed : "If General Dyer's conduct is totally incompatible with that care and caution

which could have been expected of any reasonable man under the circumstances of the case, it is difficult to see how he possibly could be said to have acted *bona fide*. The plea put forward on behalf of General Dyer that he was justified in acting with reference to the general situation in the Punjab and irrespective of the needs of the situation in Amritsar, cannot be reconciled with well-established canons of Martial Law. . . . If our European fellow citizens can extend their approval to a conduct like that of General Dyer, it only shows the impossibility of common ethical standards, and is of no encouraging prospect of the mutual sympathy and co-operation between the European and Indian communities which are required in the best interests of the country."

Regarding the martial law administration he remarked : "If there is one lesson more than another to be derived from the incidents of the Martial Law regime, it is the unfitness of military officers in this country to be entrusted with the responsibility of administering Martial Law without help or guidance from the civil authorities. If it was the Government of India that is responsible for the want of connection between the civil and military authorities, they cannot escape altogether responsibility to the many untoward incidents of the military regime."* He traced the cause of the dissatisfaction to the passing of the Rowlatt Act in the face of the united opposition of all sections of Indian opinion and said : "Let us hope that all the Rowlatt Act whose birth has been followed by such portentous occurrences will be soon repealed. The Government of India hope that the chapter of the Punjab tragedy is closed and that any trace of bitterness between the people and those responsible for the Government may be obliterated. I am afraid that this laudable hope is not likely to be realised unless justice is done by meeting out adequate punishment to all who have been guilty of disobeying the calls of humanity."

* A Great Liberal, p. 315, 319

Sivaswami Aiyer, as was well known among his contemporaries, professed no other safe method than the one of strictly constitutional type for the political advance of his country. In his presidential address at the annual session of the Liberal Federation at Calcutta in 1919, he made no secret of his political views on the Passive Resistance Movement of Mahatma Gandhi. His feeling was that such an open defiance of the law would lead to a permanent weakening of obedience to authority and law, thus endangering the maintenance of peace and harmony in national life. While admonishing his countrymen against rashness, his moderation never betrayed timidity or placid acquiescence in any form of injustice. Unfortunately he was not able to see in Gandhiji's leadership the greatest good dawning upon the country. Gandhiji's followers not having always observed the rules of Satyagraha correctly to the letter, there were some outbreaks of violence which led Sivaswami Aiyer to harp on his apprehensions of the country's unpreparedness for the strenuous sacrifice implied in the doctrine of Passive Resistance. He called Gandhiji's 'constructive programme' an impracticable one. He had no sympathy with the *Khaddar* propaganda. Even the doctrine of *ahimsa* preached by the Mahatma, according to him, needed examination in the crucible of traditional thought. At any rate, he believed that an "unqualified doctrine of non-violence has never been carried out in practice."

From the beginning of Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement, Sivaswami Aiyer had been totally opposed to it. He would not consider any government as acting with responsibility, if they had not resorted to strong and firm measures for restoring law and order. Hence on a motion tabled by Munshi Iswara Charan in the Imperial Assembly to the effect that the policy of repression adopted by the Government of India was wholly detrimental to the interests of the people of India and that whatever might happen the policy of repression should at once be abandoned, Sivaswami Aiyer was

not able to support the resolution. He went further to repose confidence in the attempts of the central government and of the provincial government in their application of the Criminal Law Administration Act as a result of which numerous arrests were made on the least suspicion of acts of instigation to violence and people were sent to jail without trial. Speaking about Gandhiji himself Sivaswami Aiyer remarked : "So long as he (Gandhiji) is the dictator of the non-cooperators and so long as he continues to be, if I may respectfully say so, intoxicated with the incense of adulation paid by his worshippers, and so long as he is anxious to maintain his reputation as a prophet by trying to hasten the event of *Swaraj* at lightning speed, so long as he maintains the attitude, the unyielding and uncompromising attitude which he does, I am afraid it will not be possible to come to any satisfactory results."*

He concluded the speech with an amendment to the resolution : "This House, while realising the perils of the present critical situation and the difficulties of the government in dealing with it, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, feels that the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Part II, has been too extensive, and that in working the Act the Local Governments have acted with more zeal than discretion and tact, and that sufficient care has not been taken to avoid harshness, and the House urges the government to ease the present situation."**

Sivaswami Aiyer could not at all understand Gandhiji, and that accounts for the use of strong words against him. There were excesses no doubt owing to the first flush of enthusiasm among the people. Gandhiji made ample confessions for the failure of non-violence in some instances. Sivaswami Aiyer somehow could not bring himself to view with composure Gandhiji's promise of

* A Great Liberal, p. 353

** Ibid p. 357

achieving *Swaraj* within a limited time. He also had his doubts about the *ahimsa* doctrine being effective in its practical application. Sivaswami Aiyer scrupulously avoided in those days using the widely recognised appellation of 'Mahatma' but only the plain 'Mr. Gandhi' while referring to him. Constitutionally, Sivaswami Aiyer possessed a mind that rarely felt it should be influenced by the heart in matters concerning practical problems of administrations. Moreover, he had so trained himself to a particular type of life and arrangement of activities associated with authority, that he could not reconcile himself to any break or suspension of orderliness for the sake of any extraordinary circumstances. He can be compared to a granite slab that strikes one by its grandeur of size and stability rather than by its capacity for yielding to the chisel to be shaped into any form.

Nevertheless, considering the risk of unpopularity one might have had to face by a note of dissension from Gandhiji at a time when the freedom fight had started in right earnest and people hardly hesitated to carry out their leader's least wish, Sivaswami Aiyer's attitude of total disapproval of the Non-co-operation Movement and its leader, cannot but draw out our admiration for the intellectual honesty of the man. Unless one had striven to keep his words identical with his convictions, he could not have shown out his mind in such unequivocal language. He was never drawn to the allurements of the ultimate ideal by ignoring the practicality of the immediate. It has been observed by some of his friends that in later years he modified his views and recognised that Gandhiji had the stature of a prophet. Once he confessed in a letter to a friend : "While I appreciate the compliment you pay to the Liberal leaders, we must plead guilty to the charge that we are lacking in the spirit of self-sacrifice."*

He had his own doubts about the vision of an independent India. When the National Liberal Federation met in conference at

* A Great Liberal, p. 780

Madras, he said : "It is difficult for us to appreciate the goal of absolute independence which has been adopted in recent years as the creed of the Congress. If independence and severance of the British connection were granted, how would it be possible to maintain our independence in the face of the designs of aggressive powers thirsting for conquest, aggrandisement and domination? The Congress leaders have not condescended to explain the point. Is it by developing the defensive forces, armament and equipment of India, or by entering into alliance with other powers, or by the realisation of the millennium when human nature would be so transformed that wars and aggression will become things of the past?

". . . Assuming for the sake of argument, that it (organisation of our defence forces) can be accomplished within a period of ten or twenty years after the grant of independence, will aggressive and covetous powers be so chivalrous and obliging as to desist from invasion till our powers of resistance are fully developed?"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the prime movers for the formation of an Indian Civil Liberties Union in 1936. Its main objective, according to him, was the protection of civil liberties of the people which at that time were in great danger of being suppressed by the repressive laws of the British. Nehru wrote to Sivaswami Aiyer inviting him to join the proposed Union. In his reply dated May 14, 1936, Aiyer first referred to the secession of the Liberals from the Congress in 1918, in view of the fundamental divergence of opinion between them and the Congress regarding aims and methods. He then went on : "The difference between the Liberal party and the Congress as regards the methods by which our respective aims are to be achieved have become sharper and more radical since the recent Lucknow Congress. You have pronounced a revolutionary creed whose object is the uprooting of existing political, economic and social structure, and you consider

yourself bound to work for and produce a revolutionary mentality in the people . . . You believe not merely in the subversion of the Government, but of the whole fabric of society on the lines which have been followed in Bolshevik Russia. . ."

He was more outspoken of his unchangeable view when he added : "It is more than likely, instead of a protection of civil liberties, the proposed Union may provoke further restrictions of such liberties. Co-operation with your party would mean the surrender of principles for which the Liberals have been standing and it would be a humiliating position which self-respect should prevent from accepting."

Sivaswami Aiyer added : "In the Soviet Union which you admire, all counter-revolutionary movements have been the subject of ruthless repression, and I have seen it stated that freedom of speech and the press has been curtailed by Soviet Russia as severely in peace-time as by other nations during war-time. The reconciliation of liberty with peace and order is the essential condition of national well-being and progress."

Sivaswami Aiyer also in a note marked 'strictly confidential' circulated among the members of the Liberal party stated his reason for not joining Jawaharlal in the proposed Civil Liberties Union. He was at the outset doubtful whether it was possible for the Liberal party, with its avowed difference of aim in requiring Dominion Status and not complete independence, to join or cooperate with a party led by Jawaharlal. Not satisfied with his expressed difference with the Congress goal for the country, he further characterised Nehru as one 'fascinated by the glamour of the Russian Revolution and its new civilization."

After expressing himself against cooperation with the leader of the Civil Liberties Union, he examined the circular of Nehru containing his statements, and observed that the charge against the government for suppressing liberties of the people was

exaggerated; for, according to him, there was justification for the Government's action. He argued : "If by political life is meant no constitutional agitation, but agitation for the purpose of incitement to violence or civil disobedience, no government in the world can afford to tolerate movements of a subversive character calculated to imperil the maintenance of law and order." Finally he wound up with these words of admonition : "In the interests of the people at large we think it necessary to warn them of the dangers incurred in walking into the Bolshevik parlour."

Sivaswami Aiyer never believed in any revolutionary movement. His main argument for the gradual gaining of self-government for the country, was that India's defence must first be strengthened and that the independence of the country, if gained, would be safe only when her military forces were well equipped and ready for action. He was not inclined to believe that political emancipation effected by throwing out the British power should be first achieved before other problems were tackled. On the other hand, he even felt that it was a will-o'-the-wisp chase to imagine that *Purna Swaraj* would be within reach if the entire country was able to stand as one man and completely paralyse a foreign government into a submissive mood always.

He always stressed that academic education was not enough and that educated persons should take a further course of study in many other branches of knowledge useful for the furtherance of a nation's progress. He had a scheme for educating the public on all general topics, but not with any objective of doing propaganda for a party or political group. He conceived the publication of a series of pamphlets on the lines of the Cobden Club Essays, and in case of any subject or subjects not compressible within the size of a pamphlet, to have subject enlarged in a book by itself of the type of the Home University Library Series. According to his scheme, various writers should be induced to contribute to the series after intense study and careful analysis of the subjects, well

arranged for presentation in a concise form and with no bias to any particular creed or political dogma. Since some of the subjects required the help of official papers both published and unpublished, access to them might be obtained through the permission of the Government. In pursuance of this scheme he wrote a letter in 1920 to Mr. Lionel Davidson, a member of the Governor's Executive Council. To have an idea of what, in his own manner amounted to sound equipment for people who wished to take part in public affairs, we can have a glance at the list prepared by him :

1. Land revenue settlements : permanent or periodical.
2. Small land holdings : Evils of subdivision and fragmentation, and how they may be dealt with.
3. Excise policy : Temperance, abolition and local option.
4. Elementary education : Methods of administration, subjects to be taught and relation to other branches of education.
5. Organisation of secondary and vocational education.
6. Female education : Ideals and courses.
7. Railways and Tariff : State vs. company management.
8. Imperial preference and customs.
9. Trade unions : Their ideals an organisation and the relations of labour with capital.
10. Co-partnership and profit-sharing.
11. Promotion of Industrial efficiency and development of industries.
12. Experiments in the housing of the poor and the duties of the State and the local bodies and the publications of comparative methods.

13. Sources of Municipal taxation.
14. The policy of restriction of house-rents.
15. Military expenditure : Possibilities of retrenchment.
16. How to organise Indian Territorial Forces.
17. Repressive laws and the expediency of their repeal or alteration and improvement.
18. Proportional representation.*

It is a pity that Sivaswami Aiyer's attempts could not fructify for want of a good team of workers with highly trained minds for the task. Further, the Government would be tardy of supplying the literature required of them when it would involve confidence in using it. Moreover, the years of Non-cooperation, with Gandhiji at the helm in the political field, intervened, and would not allow the educational work of the kind Sivaswami Aiyer had planned.

Later when an invitation came to him in 1927 from the University of Madras, to deliver an endowment lecture series, he chose the opportunity to give vent to his long considered views upon problems which sorely needed solution in Indian political and constitutional spheres. His anticipation of the Simon Commission's enquiry on the published questionnaire, was another reason why he felt he should encompass in his lectures such topics as would naturally invite the Commission's attention.

Under an endowment associated with the memory of his late friend V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, he delivered eight lectures with the title 'Indian Constitutional Problems' under the auspices of the University of Madras. Owing to the initial defect of Sivaswami Aiyer's voice, his words could not reach the end of the hall and so the lectures were very poorly attended. But when in the next year they were collected and published in the form of a book, people began to appreciate the result of his labours aimed at

* A Great Liberal, p. 741

achieving the country's constitutional advance towards Dominion Status. A paragraph from his introduction to the book may be quoted in order to show the lines on which his sound patriotism tried to dream of a future for his country :

"The growing estrangement between the government and the people of British India is a source of sincere sorrow to persons like myself who have been firm believers in the value of the British connection. I can only point out the dangers ahead and the remedies which seem necessary and practicable for the purpose of putting an end to the unrest in the country. But the chances are that the Government will be unable to distinguish friends from foes and will regard all criticism as equally inspired by the spirit of hostility to the British connection. The reactionary friends of the Government have always endeavoured to asperse the advocates of political reforms as self-seeking agitators indifferent to the welfare of this country and much less in touch with their countrymen than the members of the ruling race. To all such criticism one can afford to be perfectly indifferent. It is sufficient to have done one's duties to the best of one's lights."

His "Indian Constitutional Problems" had the objective of dealing with the questions to be considered if the system of responsible government were introduced. The lectures were delivered in 1927, when it was practically idle to speculate upon the form of the responsible government that would come into existence. Nevertheless a discussion of the problems involved in it would still be, according to him, advantageous. So he discussed the points relating to the structure and functions of the legislature and executive both in the provinces and at the Centre. At the same time he devoted particular attention to defence, the Indian native states and the minorities. The discussion of defence was thorough. He said, "It is essential that India should have the same freedom to organise and administer her military forces as is enjoyed by the Self-governing Dominions." He was against the utilization of

Indian forces without consent of the Indian Legislature for extraneous purposes.

As a text book dealing with some of the theoretical aspects of party system and functions of legislatures, the lectures can even today be read with profit. Perhaps nowhere else he was more prophetic than when he wrote in the chapter 'Epilogue' the following sentence : "The loss of India would be the first step in the disintegration of the Empire, for strategically our Eastern Empire pivots on India . . . " Whether he was at the time of the lectures envisaging the liquidation of the British Empire or not, facts turned out to be that the independence of India was followed by a number of Asian and African countries becoming free of colonialism in one sweep.

But his interest in defence is of utmost value even today because of his vast knowledge of the problems of the army as well as the intense conviction he brought to bear upon the military question and its prime importance in the modern world.

One or two paragraphs from the chapter dealing with defence may not be superfluous here :

"It will be abundantly clear from what has been stated above that though several Commissions have been appointed to consider the question of the military organisation and administration of India, it has never been approached to this day from the point of Indian nationalism, or with reference to the strictly legitimate interests of India, or to the promise of Responsible Government as the goal of India. There is nothing to show that the bearings of the constitutional development of India upon the organisation of the army or its administration have ever been appreciated at all.

". . . No sane Indian politician would venture to imperil the safety of the country or reduce the strength of the army. It would certainly be part of his programme to raise and to train Indian officers. He would probably be disposed to gradually replace the

British units by Indian units. He would establish an Indian military college where cadets may be trained for all arms of defence, at least two or three preparatory public schools like the Royal Military College at Dehra Dun in at least two more places, one for Bombay and Madras at Bangalore or Poona, and another for Bengal, Bihar and Central Provinces. . . For the purpose of carrying out a military power framed with due regard to the national interests of India, it is necessary that the portfolio of defence in the central government should be entrusted to a non-official Indian Member of the Council."

On the question of treatment of the backward classes, which was a constant point raised by the rulers as an impediment to independence, Sivaswami Aiyer gave a strong rejoinder to the Britisher. While admitting that "the treatment of the backward classes has been in the past a slur upon the social system of India," he pointed out : "There is little reason to apprehend, that exposed as they are to the cultural influence of the modern world, to the presence of international competition and to the growing of democracy the seeds of which have been already sown, the intelligentsia of the country will neglect their obligations to their fellow countrymen, or that there will be setback in the pace of social and educational progress. The suggestion that the political emancipation of the country must be delayed, until the fifty millions of the depressed classes are brought up to a level of equality with the rest of their countrymen, is unreasonable and reflects little credit on the political or common sense of those responsible for it. Moreover, it may be asked whether there is any country in the world which has not had its backward classes, or the problems created by their existence. The problems are generally more acute, when the backward classes are racially distinct from other classes in the country. The treatment of the coloured races by their fellow subjects of European or American extraction is a far more heinous blot on the civilization of the latter and the governments of

the countries where such treatment is tolerated. How solicitous the white races are at heart for the welfare and uplift of coloured races can be judged from the manner in which the Negroes and the Asiatic races are treated in the southern States of America and the Negroes and the Asiatic races are treated throughout Africa and elsewhere."

Concerning the spirit of revolt against law and order consequent upon the Satyagraha movement of Gandhiji, Sivaswami Aiyer was avowedly severe in his condemnation. He said " "But though few believe in the specific articles of his faith, the Gandhi spirit or the mentality which he created has permeated large sections of the masses. The young have lost their respect for their parents and elders; students have lost their respect for their teachers, resent discipline and claim the right to strike work; respect for the laws of the land has sensibly diminished; and the people have become familiarised with the idea that it is right and even laudable to break laws which do not commend themselves to sectional public opinion."

Regarding the future relations between India and Britain Sivaswami Aiyer foretold in his lectures : "England will find that an emancipated India will be even more loyal to the Empire and add to its strength even more than the great Self-governing colonies . . . The actual hold that England has and will maintain over India and the tie of gratitude will prove a far better cement of the Empire than the control which is maintained by force of arms. Political India is not so blind as to be unable to appreciate the solid advantages of a lasting partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations."

It was the year 1930, and great events in the political arena were to follow. The Simon Report which was published in the earlier part of the year, was hailed with much enthusiasm by the

Press in England and by many others who were supposed to have studied constitutional problems well. But in India the report met with complete disapproval and violent criticism from almost all sections of the public. Sivaswami Aiyer took his own time to study the report carefully and in a long article of nearly forty printed pages in an Indian quarterly called, *Triveni*, expressed his views. The thorough examination to which he had subjected the report, led him to conclude the article with the words : "The Report is a pretentious monument of political unwisdom and lack of imagination, insight and constructive statesmanship."

He described the first volume of the report presenting a survey of existing conditions as an "assemblage of well-known facts, crude generalisations and unsifted statements." In exposing the uncritical consumption by the Commission of facts, he instanced as a telling example, that the basis for the theory of non-martial areas and races of India was the traditional labels of the people by military officers who had not taken into account the long process of deliberate demartialization carried out by the alien Government during the past.

Regarding the fresh scheme of constitutional changes marked out by the report, he was critical of the attempt to break up the existing structure which would entail total wiping out of the historical background of existing conditions and some of the lessons to be derived from the failures of the past. He was hard on the scheme which, after conceding that constitutional legislation should arise from the needs of the times, pressed its proposal on a *priori* grounds to frame a time-table for extension of the franchise and to direct that, after the lapse of 15 years, 20 percent of the entire population should receive it. Again, while the Simon report proclaimed its belief in the natural growth of constitutional institutions, the absence of provisions for responsible government at the centre was a serious drawback of the whole scheme. He could not reconcile himself to the proposal for removing defence

as a subject from the central Government, while generally the authors of the report disfavoured division of functions of the Government. Again, it was not understandable at all how the model of British parliamentary system, if suitable in the provinces, could not be adopted at the Centre.

Further, it was quite unreasonable that the report should have given no indication as to when exactly responsible government would be actually established. He was positive in his condemnation of the idea that British India should wait till the native states were willing to come into a kind of federation. It was the result of lack of appreciation on the part of the authors of the difficulties in the way of bringing in the native states into any genuine form of federation.

He attacked the proposal for the central government structure. A system of indirect election to the central legislature was the pivot of the entire machinery and the proposals advanced were quite inconsistent with the principle of responsible government. The federal system proposed in the report on the analogy of the old German Federation and the League of Nations was misleading in that the League of Nations was not a federation in any sense and still less a State. The German analogy was equally unsustainable since it was more a confederacy than a federation having no federal executive with power over all the citizens.

Sivaswami Aiyer pointed out that the Secretary of State and his India Council should have no place in any proposal, since their reactionary and retrograde character stood in the way of any responsible government conceived of.

He concluded his article with the words : "They have failed to realise that a new generation is growing up in India which is thirsting for political emancipation and is not prepared to follow counsels of patience or moderation, and which is not wanting in

young bloods with Bolshevik ideals. It is not unnatural that there are many in India who believe that the one purpose which has dominated the Report is how to make India safe for British rule and British Imperialism for as many centuries as possible."*

It reads like an indictment of the whole of British policy in India and Sivaswami Aiyer widely circulated his article among the politicians of England.

Defence was, from an earlier period, one of his favourite subjects. Unmartial as he might have appeared to those who knew him, he was bold enough to claim that the country possessed young men of immense potentialities worthy of being harnessed for military training and careers in the army. No doubt, the question of the defence of India was not easy of tackling, since it raised issues of enormous importance. Its bearing on the constitutional development was also vital.

It must be familiar to students of the history of the Congress that for a number of years the resolutions passed at its annual sessions had a bearing upon the military expenditure on forces that were maintained by the Indian exchequer. The part played by the Indian army in the imperial wars was worthy of India's claim for a greater recognition than was meted out by England. Further, the policy followed by Britain regarding the organisation of the army in India was based on a deep distrust of the people and the princes of India. The army was so organised as to remain a strong weapon in Britain's hand for purposes of quelling any general uprising of the Indian people. The Peel Commission was the first body to review the situation as early as 1858-59, and later in 1879. The main motive of government was to demartialize the people and to divide and rule them. On the pretext of a whole nation not possessing

* A Great Liberal, p. 469

sufficient fighting material, recruitment to the army was confined to a few 'material races', as the governments in its superior wisdom classified them. Even admission to the Volunteer Corps was restricted to Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

In the actual manning of the field-forces, the Indian troops and officers were excluded from the artillery and all branches of the army whose efficiency depended upon scientific and technical training. Even the firearms used by the Indian troops were not up-to-date. The Indian states maintaining their own armies were provided only with inferior or obsolete types of weapons. The princes were also persuaded to reduce the strength of their armies.

Direct recruitment to the officer grades of the army was almost nil and if at all there were a few Indian officers, they were promotees from the lower ranks. No King's Commissions were granted to Indians and the highest rank within the reach of an Indian was that of Subedar-major or Risaldar-major. The proportion of Indian to European soldiers was maintained always 1 to 3 in many places, and Indians were required to serve in the fields outside India for imperial necessities.

The report of the Esher Committee of 1919 made it clear that the administrator of the Indian army otherwise than as a part of the total armed forces of the Empire would be beyond consideration. The report further maintained that the objects essential for the future administration would have to be based upon three principles : "(1) the control by the government of India of Indian military affairs, (2) giving to the government of India a say in matters pertaining to Imperial defence; and (3) permitting the Imperial General Staff through its chief to exercise a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India. In actuality the objective, as far as one could judge, was the accomplishment of the third, i.e., controlling Indian forces through the Imperial General Staff which necessarily placed the Indian troops under the Imperial command. In short, never was a scheme

better contrived to rivet the chains of dependence of the Government of India upon British War Office.:

When the Esher Report was first introduced in the Indian Assembly's first session, the house emphatically repudiated the many assumptions upon which the committee had based its report. The Assembly passed a resolution that the army in India should be wholly under the control, real as well as nominal, of the Indian Government and there should be no occasion for domination or interference by the War Office in London.

Sivaswami Aiyer's speech in the Assembly provided elaborate data in order to sustain his strong arguments for a total revision of the policy underlying the recruitment to and the future of the Indian army. As his voice was not audible beyond a few rows in the front, one of the members, Mr. H.E. Spry, complained of it. Sivaswami Aiyer confessed : "I have got a weak voice, but I shall do what I can." One has to remember that in the year 1921, there were no microphones in use in the country. Still, if Sivaswami Aiyer retained the ear of the entire house till he had finished his long speech, full of facts and figures, it proves the valuable contribution he made to the discussions.

In the course of his speech he stressed : "Upon one point it is absolutely necessary to make our intention clear, namely, that the equipment, organisation and administration should, as far as possible, correspond to those adopted in England. Our standard of efficiency must be the same as the standard of efficiency that is aimed at in England. We also desire to make it clear that we have no desire to shirk our obligations as regards the defence of the Empire. We are quite willing to share the burdens which in this respect rest upon all the members of the Empire, and all we ask is that we should be called upon to undertake those burdens subject to the same conditions to which the Self-

* Indian Constitutional Problems by Sivaswami Aiyer, p. 112

governing Dominions are subject."*

The resolutions of the Assembly met the Committee's proposals seriatim with definite and constructive criticism. On the point whether India in case of her autonomy in military organisation would be willing to bear her share in the defence of the British Empire, the Assembly passed a resolution to the following effect :

"That the purpose of the army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain any army for these purposes, its organisation, equipment, and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date, and, with due regard to Indian conditions, in accordance with the present-day standards of efficiency in the British army so that when the army in India has to cooperate with the British army, on any occasion, there may be no dissimilarities of organisation, etc., which would render such cooperation difficult. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence, the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-governing Dominions, and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions."**

Fifteen resolutions had been tabled and Sivaswami Aiyer had his detailed say on every one of them. He wound up his speech with words that easily marked him out of the ordinary run of speakers both by his earnestness of approach to the problems as well as by the unassailability of arguments he had advanced :

"The current of public opinion now flows swift and strong, and Government must recognise that it cannot be held up for long without risk of inundation and disaster. If there is one feature more

* A Great Liberal, p. 329

** Indian Constitutional Problems, pp. 124-125

than another of the British rule which has filled Indians with a sense of humiliation and wounded their self-respect, it is the way in which they have been treated in the army of their own country and held to be only fit for being hewers of wood and drawers of water. Great Generals have not been wanting in the past in this country, and it is difficult to believe that the capacity and talent for leadership have been altogether lost. Until this grievance is removed, Indians cannot walk with their heads erect among the peoples of the earth. It is characteristic of the British rule in India, and perhaps also in England, that they never have the knack of doing the right thing at the right time. They let the psychological moment pass by, and reasonable demands for justice and fair play are only conceded after years of persistent agitation. No task that the new Viceroy can set before himself can have a nobler purpose to meet with more grateful recognition than a determined attempt to retrieve the error of past policy in emasculating the whole nation, and to restore India to the full vigour of her manhood. It was perhaps necessary in the dispensation of Providence that the people of India should be reduced to a helpless, formless pulp before being moulded together. The process has gone on sufficiently far and the government will do well to realise the advantage to the Empire which will flow from the increased efficiency and increased contentment of her largest partner."*

Sivaswami Aiyer was not for waiting for the Government to come forward to Indianise the armed forces and to give them training in the methods of modern warfare. He made an unofficial appeal to youth living in Madras for joining the 3rd Madras Urban Infantry. The printed appeal carried the date of November 4, 1929. It was stated in the appeal that till 1917, people had no opportunity of undergoing military training in any volunteer association. (Because of the exigencies of the Great War of 1914-1918, a temporary measure called the Indian Defence Force Act was

* A Great Liberal, p. 342, 343

passed in 1917 for training people in the military. It was suspended after the War. That Act was replaced by the Indian Territorial Force Act, 1922, under which the University Training Corps was first organised.) The appeal emphasised the need for the existence of a national army for India. The desire for such military training had to be stimulated among classes from whom recruitment had not till then been made to the army. The Urban Battalion was one of the new organisations founded for opportunities being provided to the educated young men in large centres of population. Then, the obligations imposed on it under the Indian Territorial Force as amended in 1928, were (1) when called out with any portion of the territorial force by an order of the senior military officer present, either to act in support of the civil power or to provide guards which were in the opinion of the officer essential; (2) when any portion of the territorial force to which a member belonged had been embodied by a notification of the Governor General-in-Council to support or supplement His Majesty's regular forces in India in the event of an emergency. Ordinarily a member of the Urban Corps Unit would not be required for service beyond his Province. Persons between ages of 16 and 31 were eligible for enlistment. Fitness for applications was then detailed. For educational qualification, a satisfactory Certificate of Secondary School Final Leaving was sufficient at the lowest.

Sivaswami Aiyer was president of the Recruitment Committee for the Territorial Force, with Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (a former vice-chariman of the Imperial Legislative Council) and Yakub Hasan, a Muslim publicist, as vice-presidents. As a result of his interest in the recruitment, some young men from educated classes joined the force for military training. But soon, to the great disappointment of Sivaswami Aiyer, the whole scheme had to be dropped for want of sufficient numbers to form the minimum unit-strength.

If Sivaswami Aiyer appeared a conservative in his political views, he was also to some extent a traditionalist in his outlook on social matters. From the school days of his, Sanskrit study formed a sheet-anchor of his cultural attainments. His devotion to *Sastras*, which can provide mental discipline to an intellectual, was as firm as it was uninterrupted. Throughout his retirement after his membership of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, he was not allowing any day to pass without a regular and methodical study of the *Sastras*, such as *Mimamsa* and *Vedanta*, with the aid of a pandit. The reason for his having a person who had intensive and total preoccupation with the pursuit of the *Sastras* as his tutor, was due to his firm belief that without such a traditional way of study, he could never get precise knowledge of them. He was never, at the same time, allowing his mind to be merely absorbing everything without questioning. Rather, he was examining the findings of the *Sastras* in the new light gained through the modern knowledge of scientific discoveries. When he was thus gaining the fullest benefit of both the ancient lore of the East and the modern thought from the West, he naturally sought a channel for the expression of his own conclusions in the shape of the 'Kamala Lectures'.

Under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, he delivered these lectures in 1934 and they were published in book form, in 1935, with the title "Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals". About the Hindu method of ethical evolution he said : "Adaptation to changes of environment is the essential condition of life. It would be impossible to suggest that there has been no necessity for re-examination and revision of moral rules or that there has been in fact no alteration in moral values. While paying lip-homage to the external and immutable character of *Sanatana Dharma*, the commentators on the *Sastras* have generally endeavoured to bring them into relation and accordance with the conditions of the society in which they lived. The Hindu mind has never been lacking in

legal subtlety and the commentators upon our *Sastras* have had no difficulty, by recourse to the principles of interpretation and to legal fictions, in bringing about such modification in the rules as society stood in need of."

Impossible as it might seem to any student of sociology and ethics to give a correct picture of the Hindu society from early times with many of its socio-legal conceptions like the institution of marriage, inheritance, women's rights, caste system, etc., undergoing changes, Sivaswami Aiyer did not show the least disinclination to go into them carefully and find out the basis for their validity on the ground of *Sanatana Dharma*. After tracing the origins of some of them in pre-historic times and following their developments even according to the *Smritikaras* (codifiers), he was not slow to point out how inevitable had been the changes which were adopted in the long process of time. At any rate he was not vague or compromising in his attitude towards the legitimate progress demanded by the times people were living in. He said : "So far as the orthodox view of the *Dharma Sastra* is concerned, it may be taken that the claim of eternal validity covers the whole body of *Dharma Sastra*. But the brief survey we have made of the history of the most important topics comprised in the *Dharma Sastra* will convince any unbiased person that the rules of conduct and the ethical ideals underlying them have undergone great changes from time to time in accordance with social needs or changes of public opinion. The changes have in some cases been of a progressive character and in other cases of a reactionary or injurious tendency. But whatever may be the character of the changes in particular instance, the claim that the entire body of the *Dharma Sastra* is eternal and immutable cannot be maintained. How many of the rules prescribed therein are unsuitable, impracticable and opposed to modern notions and conditions has been made abundantly clear in the course of the preceding chapters."

In his view, the Karma theory "affords at least as satisfactory a basis for morality, if not a more satisfactory one and is more consistent than, other systems with our conception of goodness and benevolence of God." He was impressed by some of the objections raised to the theory by other religionists. He discussed one by one all the points both in favour and against the karma theory. While he was feeling that "these speculations into the mysteries of life, birth and heredity can only obtain arbitrary, fanciful or mystic solutions, he was persuaded to own that "the idea that a man is under a moral obligation not to relieve another from the natural consequences of his former deeds finds no support in the theory of *karma* or in the Hindu scriptures, and it is a gross libel on the Hindu community to say that it is callous to suffering."

While dwelling on the subject of moral progress, Sivaswami Aiyer said : "The fact that certain virtues have declined and other virtues have grown in popular estimation does not necessarily enable us to pronounce an opinion for or against the moral progress of society on the whole. It may be that the new distribution of moral values is better suited to the conditions of the time and possibly better calculated to advance the well-being and happiness of mankind. It must be remembered that moral codes have come into existence for the benefit of human beings and not human beings for the benefit of moral codes. The most fundamental rules of conduct which prevail in nearly all civilized societies have acquired their importance from the fact that the experience of humanity for ages past has shown them to be essential for our well-being as members of society. It is, however, conceivable that radical and far-reaching changes in our conditions of existence, social surroundings and intellectual climate may produce changes in our moral values or in the distribution of emphasis among them."

Dwelling upon the impact of science on religion he opined: "Even religion has been obliged to make terms with the spirit of science and come to an understanding as to the respective provinces of reason and faith. Fortunately for this reconciliation,

science and religion are now alike inspired by a spirit of humility and decreasing dogmatism."

On the question of conversion by proselytising religions, he was confident : "So far as I can see, there is no likelihood of any mass movement towards conversion to any other religion, except perhaps in the case of the depressed classes who may be tempted to embrace one or the other of the proselytising religions, if the evil of untouchability is not soon eradicated." (This was written in 1935. Since then much has been done, and the Indian Constitution, apart from abolishing untouchability by a stroke of the pen has made it a cognisable offence.)

On ritualism he made his own considered views. He said : "One great handicap under which Hinduism labours is its load of ritualism and ceremonial observances. The sooner its followers can lighten the load and devote themselves to the essentials of religion, the greater will be its chances of revival."

On the type of marriages as contracted in our present Hindu society he had something of value to observe. He said, "Unfortunately the system of marriage that obtains among us does not pay sufficient regard to eugenic considerations such as are recommended by the ancient Hindu law-givers or by modern biologists. More importance is attached to astrological and mercenary considerations than to purely eugenic considerations."

More than anything else, in his surmise of the tendencies of the time he made a prognosis, which strikes an unbiassed student of social life as something uniquely accurate of the shape of things to come. He was not pessimistic when he felt that future of life here as elsewhere would have greater occasions and opportunities for expansion, but in the matter of cherishing the ideals of an earlier generation, he was none too optimistic. We find him closing his lectures with the following reflection :

"This is not the time or place to enter into any discussion of

the possibilities of an economic revolution in the country. But I have referred to it merely for the purpose of hinting how enormous changes in our moral conceptions are sure to be brought about by changes in the social or economic order. Virtues may lose their importance or cease to be virtues and new ideals of conduct may take the place of old. There is reason to fear that the beautiful ideals of filial love, respect for elders and especially those of the family, of conjugal constancy and of the support of aged parents, are losing their influence upon the conduct of persons. The time perhaps is not far off (and I should indeed deplore the day) when the new generation may become incapable even of appreciating the beauty of the ideals depicted in our national epics."

On the vexed question of the increasing population and the methods by which the family could be limited, he, along with another friend, Sir Vepa Ramesam (a judge of the Madras High Court, 1921-1935), formed a society called the Neo-Malthusian League. It had a secretary and members, and Sivaswami Aiyer was chosen as its president. Literature on the subject was freely distributed by the League among the intelligentsia. As a clear example of Sivaswami Aiyer's earnestness in the matter of family planning, a letter by him to Dr. Maria Stopes can be cited. Maria Stopes, apart from being a great doctor of medicine, was an author of many instructive books and pamphlets on sex problems. Aiyer wrote in his letter : "I may inform you that at present we have 300 members on our rolls from various parts of India. There is a keen demand for information of Medical Practitioners. But the difficulties which confront us are that very few of them have studied the subject or taken an interest in it, and some of them have got prejudices about it. Under these circumstances we are obliged to draw mainly upon your own publications and upon those of the Malthusian League in England. Mr. Justice Ramesam got a pamphlet compiled under the title of 'Approved Methods of Family Limitation'. I found that it put forward too many bewildering suggestions and that it was not

suitable to our countrymen, sepecially the poor and the ignorant. A new pamphlet (No. 3) has therefore been prepared and published by the Committee of our League on 'Select Methods of Limitation'. We have acknowledged our obligations to you and to the writers of other books and pamphlets referred to . . . "*.

The letter contains a number of other items on which information was sought. The activities of the League were directed to helping people desirous of employing methods for controlling the size of families from becoming an undue burden upon their resources. There were many critics then, who were allergic to the very thought of discussing details of the subject by the Neo-Malthusian League at its meetings. Whether Sivaswami Aiyer's efforts created an immediate consciousness among the people regarding the necessity for family limitation or not, one outstanding fact deserves our notice, namely, that of all persons, Sivaswami Aiyer, himself having no children, considered birth-control as a matter of pressing importance for the future survival of the country.



* A Great Liberal, p. 745

CHAPTER VI

WIDENING HORIZON

From his early days Sivaswami Aiyer had a desire to visit countries beyond the seas. His sailing in a steam-launch to Ceylon while he was young, whetted his desire to visit other far-off lands. But he had waited for some time because of his mother's indifferent health. Now that her son had become an important publicist and had widely established himself in the minds and hearts of people, the mother's consent to his short tour programme could not be withheld. Initially he wanted to tour some of the south-east Asian countries. He had read in the books about the Indian cultural influence over these lands.

In 1920, he started his tour which was scheduled to last for more than three weeks. On January 3, he left Calcutta and reached Rangoon on the 5th. Regarding this tour he has not left detailed reports. Fortunately, however, there are a few documents left, which have been of some help to know one or two incidents during the tour.

One particular occurrence may be of interest, as it relates to the way Europeans behaved in those days while coming in contact with Indians. The incident was noticed in the Press also, as the person involved was not an insignificant one : Sivaswami Aiyer was in the train which had left Pagan for Mandalay. He never travelled except in a first-class, as he required during travel

undisturbed rest. At the railway station of Mahlaing, when it was still dark despite the hand of the clock pointing to six, he was rudely disturbed by the arrival of a European military officer, named Captain Childers who came with his wife. Finding Aiyer occupying a single seat, he instantaneously, without any sense of courtesy due to a sleeping passenger, demanded of him to vacate the seat by transferring himself to another first-class seat available in the next compartment where a gentleman called Mr. Rushton was also the single occupier of a compartment of two seats. Sivaswami Aiyer did not show any perturbation, but coolly replied by pointing to the other compartment, suggesting that he might as well require Mr. Rushton to do the same, if he felt he should have a whole compartment for himself and his wife. Captain Childers was put out and he rushed to the guard for bringing the obstinate passenger to reason. But Sivaswami Aiyer would not budge an inch and also told the guard that if the other European in the next compartment moved into his own he would not mind it. Captain Childers grew impatient at this. He blurted out words to the following effect : You are a damned brute. It is disgraceful. I have never heard such a thing in my life—a refusal to oblige a lady." Aiyer retorted : "You have no business to talk to me in this way." Captain Childers shouted, "Shut up". Not satisfied with his offensive behaviour, he made the remark : "I want to let into you if you will." Sivaswami Aiyer still with his control of temper asked of him : "I do not quite follow you." The captain queried : "Do you understand English?", to which again Aiyer answered mildly "yes". It was then the captain spent all his fury on Sivaswami Aiyer by saying : "I have known lots of people in India—Sikhs, Punjabis, and Hindus—and there are many whom I am proud to call my friends. None of them has behaved to a lady in the way you have done. The Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir Pratap Singh, would have vacated the compartment. No Englishman worthy of the name would have behaved to an Indian lady in the way you have done." Aiyer said : "I have also travelled with

lots of Englishmen, and this is the first time I have seen such language used."

Sivaswami Aiyer was composed enough to ask of him for his name and calling; but the other simply said he would have the exchange of their cards at the time of departure. But he failed to do so. Still Sivaswami Aiyer was careful to note from the card on his luggage that he was a captain and belonged to the Military Police at Pyawbe.

Aiyer reported the matter to Sir Reginald Craddock, the Lieutenant Governor of Burma. After detailing the facts of the incident he added : "The conduct of Captain Childers was absolutely inexcusable. I wonder if this is the example of the manner in which Europeans in this province treat Indians. I should be glad to know if suitable notice will be taken of the conduct of Captain Childers." Sir Reginald in a communication, dated 28th January 1920, replied that the matter would be receiving quick attention. On 15th February, the Governor wrote another letter wherein he expressed the captain's regret for his behaviour, adding that he had made "a full, frank and manly apology". In the meanwhile the matter had escaped into the Press with headlines sufficient to attract wide notice. On the intercession of the Lt. Governor, the following draft press note was sent to Sivaswami Aiyer: "With reference to certain accounts which have appeared in the press regarding an altercation which took place between Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, K.C., S.I., C.I.E., and Captain Childers, Commandant of the Reserve Battalion of the Burma Military Police, in a railway carriage at Mahlaing station on the Burma Railways, we are authorised to state the incident has terminated in a manner honourable to both the gentlemen concerned." Aiyer added the following words to the draft : "by the tender and acceptance of a suitable apology."*

* This and other quotations in this chapter are from the book "A Great Liberal."

was given a quietus.

A report from the British Delegation to the foreign and political department of the Government of India, dated 18th February 1920, enables us to have some idea of his stay in Siam (Thailand) and some activities in which he participated. Sivaswami Aiyer arrived at Bangkok on 12th February and was the guest of a commercial magnate, T.S. Maricar. In his further tour he was entertained at a garden party at Laung Villa, where an address of welcome was presented to him. The local papers published portions of his speech at the party wherein he had expressed his gratitude to His Majesty the Siamese monarch for the way in which he had shown impartiality among the races under his rule and also referred to the similarities in the culture of the two countries.

He finished his tour according to schedule and returned to India. In the early months of 1922 his mother, who was for some time not keeping good health, passed away at Thanjavur in the old ancestral residence. Sivaswami Aiyer had been a loving son, having always attended to the needs of his parents. If he was postponing a prolonged foreign tour, it was because of his mother's impending death requiring his presence as a dutiful son to perform her last rites and obsequies. He always preserved tiny photos of his parents enclosed in a locket which he suspended from the gold chain of his pocket watch. His mother having now expired, he prepared his plans for a foreign tour. He secured in advance letters of introduction to various persons in Europe, England and America.

Very often persons with a methodical mind too lack the inclination to fill up diaries which they piously intend keeping. Sivaswami Aiyer had the habit of writing diaries. Still, save in the case of a few occasions, diary comments are not available regarding his foreign tour. It may also be a bit inexplicable to modern minds why Sivaswami Aiyer, a loving husband, did not choose to have his wife's company on his tours. He had no

children and naturally one would have expected the wife not left in the loneliness of a spacious residence. The apparent reason could have been the disinclination of the wife herself to follow him on his tours, since without the ability to commune with persons in English she might have proved a constant drag on her husband's movements and meetings with strangers. She was never tutored in any of the modern ways, and if one's memory does not prove false, she did not even as a hostess in her own home come out to meet guests, both Indian and European who had occasions to visit her husband. Her physical presence might not have met the eyes of those who visited her husband or stayed as guests at his place, but as an Indian housewife she saw to it that their wants and comforts were well attended to.

Sivaswami Aiyer's diary written after intervals of a few days or weeks, took care every time not to omit some of the reactions felt by him on seeing new places and meeting new faces. On 2nd June, as he was passing the straits of Mesina in the Mediterranean, he noted : "As I sit gazing on the blue sea I cannot help brooding over the yawning ocean which increases the distance between me and my wife and home, day by day, and thinking over the sorrowful days and nights she is passing. Nor can I help brooding over the thought whether in return for the sorrow of separation from home and the expenditure of money, I shall get an adequate compensation in personal experience and self-improvement or in satisfaction at being able to render any service to my country, a question to which conscious as I am of limitations, defects and diffident nervous temperament, I can hardly render positive answer."

He took with him a cook for preparing him vegetarian food, as in those days people were not sure of food arrangements, especially for vegetarians, outside India. Further, his cautious nature would have counselled his avoidance of risks of diet irregularities confining him to bed with indisposition during his stay in foreign

countries. He was never grudging to his servants the liberties for their own enjoyment. He therefore purchased tickets to every place which he visited, for his attendant also.

In Paris, he had to sojourn for a few days. Here are a few comments in his diary on the famous monuments and spots of beauty which he visited : "Neat little villages and farm houses were dotted over the countryside, and now and again we passed small townships or villages and occasionally large towns. The country is all undulating, verdant, smiling. Lyons presents a much brighter appearance, than Marseilles, the houses being of a lighter colour."

Witnessing a Western dance he did not forget to mention : "The main object of dancing is not merely the display of dexterity of movement but the display of almost all parts of the human form except the very small portion which is considered private."

Sivaswami Aiyer was a connoisseur of art. His interest in pictures and statuary impelled him to attend exhibitions of arts and crafts wherever they were held. When at Louvre he was taken to picture galleries he remembered to make his notes of what he saw (10-6-1922):

"The collection of pictures is said to be one of the best in the world. The portraits are magnificent in their richness and softness of colouring. Portrait painting is a field in which the French artists seem to excel far more than in landscape painting. There are some excellent landscape pictures by Poussin Glaude Lorraine, etc. But the French have a particular partiality for portrait painting. The halls in which these pictures are hung, the decorations of the ceiling, walls and doors and the lighting of the pictures are superb. The nude is a favourite subject with the French painter. He is never tired of studying it in every possible pose and the public are never satiated with it. perhaps there is a great deal to be said for this love of human form, divine in its natural un-adorned beauty."

At the British Embassy in Paris he met his old acquaintance,

Lord Hardinge, who had been Viceroy of India between 1906 and 1911. In his diary he noted down : "He made enquiries about the situation in India; thought that Gandhi had not been sufficiently looked after but had been neglected, and said that he had experienced no difficulty in dealing with him, but found him amenable to reason."

Once again he saw the statuary at Louvre and noted in his diary : "The latter (statuary) did not impress me like the pictures."

After witnessing a Russian ballet he wrote : "The opera building is grand and the auditorium accommodates about 2,000 spectators or more. The buildings are grand. But I was not impressed with the performance. It shows, however, great dexterity and agility on the part of the dancers."

He saw some more places like the Palais du Luxembourg where the Senate was housed. The library, committee rooms and the amphitheatre were all visited by him. The Luxembourg galleries next attracted his attention. He fell in love with the realistic modern sculpture and wrote, "the statuary here is very much better than that in the Louvre." The Chamber of Deputies and the Muses Rodin claimed also his appreciation.

Arriving at London on June 15, 1922 after crossing of the English Channel he made arrangements to meet the many persons to whom he had intended to pay visits. At the India Office he called on Sir Murray Hammick, an old Civilian who had been his colleague in the Executive Council at Madras. Among those whom he called on were K.L. Narasimhan (Bar-at-law) practising in the Privy Council, O. Llyods Evans, Vernon Dawson, who was in charge of constitutional reforms, Dr. O.F. Thomas the Sanskritist, M.F.E. Brown and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Roberts. Mrs. Roberts was a keen politician and she expressed her admiration of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's speech at Geneva as the best delivered by any British subject in English. Sir W.S. Meyer and J.W. Bhore

discussed with him the Indian political situation. Sivaswami Aiyer's brother, Dr. Chandrasekhar, happened to be then in England and the brothers stayed together for some time.

Sivaswami Aiyer met the Rt. Hon. Whitley, the Speaker of the House of Commons, for about 40 minutes. All the time Whitley was standing in his library during the interview. From him Aiyer gathered the impression of Winston Churchill as the finest speaker in the House and of Lloyd George, as the best among impromptu speakers. He heard M.C.G. Masterman deliver a lecture on Liberalism and also Asquith's speech at the London School of Economics.

He called on Montagu, with whom for an hour he was closeted. Sivaswami Aiyer noted down in his diary that the talk related to the military question and military training: "He took great interest in the career of the Indian cadets at Sandhurst and said the quality of candidates selected was very poor. He asked me whether the educated classes would like to enter the army. I assured him they would. He agreed that subject to tests of qualifications, all should be equally eligible. He accepted my views as to the Indianisation of the army and civil services. I explained to him the position of the Moderates and the necessity for strengthening their hands by granting further reform concessions. I pointed out the failure of Dyarchy and the need for responsibility in the central Legislature. He advised me to see Lord Peel at once and not lose time. He also permitted me to see him as often as I wished."

After having lunched with Lord Southborough at the Reform Club, he met Lord Chelmsford by appointment. Chelmsford, like Lord Southborough, wished Sivaswami Aiyer to meet Lord Peel after sending him his memorandum regarding the political reforms he would like to suggest.

Lord Islington whom he met was very hard on Gandhi and felt that Gandhi should not have been let out for so long and that

the Government of India disclosed great weakness. Sir Valentine Chirol was prepared to accept, in the interview with him, reduction in military expenditure and retrenchment in the army organisation as suggested by Sivaswami Aiyer. He was kind enough to give letters of introduction to Major Ormsby Gore and Sir Lionel Curtis, both of whom were parliament members.

It is a long list of persons of importance that he managed to meet. In between such visits he had also time to listen to a talk by Prof. William Rothenstein on 'Indian Sculpture'. The meeting was presided over by Sir Francis Younghusband. He noted down : "The lecturer was enthusiastic about Indian sculpture. But he had a very monotonous delivery and a low voice and was very unimpressive."

His visit to the National gallery and Tate gallery got recorded in his diary thus : "The Tate gallery : it is a much finer collection than the National gallery". The note of introduction from Montagu which he had received for Lord Birkenhead was not actually used by him, as Montagu himself while giving the note had remarked that the Lord Chancellor did not find much interest in Indian politics. He had opportunities of meeting the editors of some of the leading journals like the *Contemporary Review*, the *London Times*, etc. He listened to the St. Paul Cathedral organ music. Sir Austin Chamberlain gave a lunch at which Sivaswami Aiyer was present and found the host pleasant and outspoken.

Finally he had occasion to meet Lord Peel at the India Office. The diary notes : "He listened patiently enough, but he does not seem to carry much weight with the Cabinet. On the question of the military expenditure I told him that if Britain wanted to keep more British troops than we wanted, she must pay. He said that whenever he suggested this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the latter grew purple in the face."

Almost all the members of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament he purposely interviewed with a view to pressing home

his suggestions for the reduction in military expenditure and the organisation of the army with Indian recruits.

Scotland was the next area in his itinerary, where he visited Sir Walter Scott's library. At Edinburgh he spent some time in going round the University, museum, the zoological gardens and other places. The Scottish Academy and the British National Gallery were next included in the places to be seen. H.G. Wedderburn, whom he specially wanted to meet and who in his turn was able to meet him at the railway station itself, showed waning powers of comprehension owing to age. Lord Peel's letter appointing Sivaswami Aiyer as one of the three delegates to the League of Nations Conference at Geneva was received only while he was there. He readily accepted the offer. Going to Aberdeen he saw his old Professor, Dr. Duncan : "He was greatly pleased to see me and had in fact sent round a young man to the Station Hotel to enquire if I had arrived. We went on talking for an hour. He advised me particularly not to overtax myself in my tour and said that he was anxious that I should not pass away. . . Mrs. Duncan is more robust and looks after him with great devotion."

The attempt to find out Dr. Skinner who had been principal of the Madras Christian College proved futile since his place was not known to anybody. Nearly a month and ten days Sivaswami Aiyer spent in England and profitably utilized every day of his stay there. He then left for the sessions of the League of Nations at Geneva. At Lucerne he had a room in a hotel overlooking the lake which presented a beautiful view. To have an idea of his powers of description one small passage from his diary will suffice : "Again and again Lucerne and Reuss remind one of Jhelum valley in Kashmir. The journey from Lucerne to Utznaw was delightful. The weather is fine. The hills approaching near you at one place and covered with dark green trees and fine green slopes and bare in some places on account of glacial nature standing out like castle walls and battlements, the water of the lake, here deep blue, there

a light green and in another place shimmering like silver, the fringe of lakes with lovely villas and gardens, were beautiful to look at."

He was accompanied by his nephew, P.N. Ramaswami, who was in England for his Indian Civil Service training. Venice was his next place of sojourn. Milan and Arona he had to pass through and finally after halting at Stresa, he reached Geneva. The scenery which was picturesque has been finely described by him in his diary.

The Assembly members of the League of Nations gathered at Salle de Reformation at Hotel Victoria. On 20th September 1922, Sivaswami Aiyer spoke in support of the resolution moved by Dr. Nansen on the Mandates. After the first World War the Mandated territories had been distributed among some of the Western powers which took charge of the populations committed to them under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League.

By Article 22 of the Covenant, all Mandated territories were treated as the sacred trust to be administered as trust estates. Though these territories were originally vested in the Allies, they divested themselves of the territories and created a trust, making the League of Nations, the trustee. Three classes—'A', 'B' and 'C' were created according to the manner of administration, though the Council, which might be called the statutory organ of the League, was ultimately responsible for the welfare of the territories. General Smuts of South Africa pronounced that the 'C' class territories were annexed to the Mandatory States in all but name. Sivaswami Aiyer raised an important point during the discussion regarding the legal status of the 'C' class territories. He maintained that two propositions of law would be beyond contradiction : One was that a trustee or his agent cannot treat property belonging to the beneficiary as his own and annex it to his own properties. It would therefore follow that the populations of the 'C' class territories would never become the nationals of the Mandatory State but preserve their own distinct national status. The second

proposition would be that a Mandate was essentially revocable and if the mandatory failed in his duty he might be relieved of the Mandate. He concluded thus : "Even now we hear of the centre of gravity in international affairs being gradually shifted to the Far East and the Pacific coast. But why? Let only the nations of the earth give up their earth hunger and their rivalry and cupidity for markets, and their desire to appropriate vast uninhabited continental spaces, we shall then be free from the chances of strife and conflict. It is only to the extent that we are able to conquer the vulgar though deep-seated prejudice of colour, that we shall be able to realise the ideals of humanity and justice, and then, and then only, will this Assembly become a real federation of the world and a lasting bond of peace."

The later history of the League, how it died a natural death, and how Nazism, Fascism and so many other 'isms' concealed the same 'earth hunger' leading to the second global war, are all too well-known to require recapitulation. And, the basic problems mentioned by Sivaswami Aiyer have not yet been solved.

After participating in the League Conference Sivaswami Aiyer returned to England.

In October 1922, he made preparations for sailing for America. Polak, the collaborator of Gandhiji in the South African struggle, was a friend of Sivaswami Aiyer and he helped him to secure berths in the ship 'Barengaria'. Sivaswami Aiyer was not forgetful of the heavy expenses of the travel; for his diary specially mentions : "It has cost me over £ 125. It is twice as costly as the trip from India to England while the distance is little more than a half." 'Berengaria' happened to be a very big ship possessing eight passenger decks with a beautiful palm court, ballroom, swimming pool, a gymnasium, a reading room and two dining saloons. An incident noted down by him brings out the racial prejudices of the Whites : "I went in for lunch about half an hour late and found a white man and his wife seated at the table. I hesitated a bit not

knowing whether to sit by the husband or the wife. The table steward asked me to take any chair, and when I took my chair by the side of the wife, the husband and the wife left abruptly, leaving their lunch unfinished. After lunch, I mentioned the matter to the deputy steward, and Sir Mark Sheldon, to whom I mentioned the matter, spoke to the chief steward. The latter has arranged to give me a separate table in the grill room on the 'E' Deck. It is quite convenient."

Reaching New York, he was taken charge of by Mr. and Mrs. Marshall. The couple helped him to go round the big city. Washington, Montreal and Albany were some of the places he visited. His diary gives accounts of many of the peculiarities he had found there. He spent a very pleasant time at Montreal. He visited the Macgill University and recorded ample information of it in his diary. He was by appointment met by Mackenzie King, the Premier of Canada. Mackenzie King was nice and introduced Sivaswami Aiyer to a number of people. The next place he was to visit was Toronto, and King gave him letters of introduction to many important persons there.

His diary mentions about Los Angeles thus : "Los Angeles is a beautiful city, blessed with a genial climate. It is the home of many rich people who live here for pleasure. It is a garden city, and California is the garden of the U.S.". That ended the last lap of his itinerary.

It may be mentioned that the Madras Liberal League had given him at the time of departure to foreign countries a warm send-off. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri was along with Sivaswami Aiyer bidden farewell, as he had already been appointed a delegate to the League of Nations. His departure had political significance, while Sivaswami Aiyer's had not, because none knew then that he too was to be included among the Indian delegates to the League.

To the farewell speech delivered by Dewan Bahadur L.A. Govindaraghava Aiyer, a staunch Liberal, Sivaswami Aiyer made

a suitable reply in these words : "Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyer has asked me to miss no opportunity of doing a good turn to the country, if it is possible for me to be of any service to the country when I am abroad. I need hardly assure you that that request does not need to be pressed on my attention. We may all have our own methods of serving the country, and it is open to each of us to serve the country according to the best of his lights. While, therefore, I do not go to Europe and America with any mission or with any political object, if it is possible for me to render any humble service, I shall consider it my duty to do it."

At the same place, the Gokhale Hall, on February 2, 1923, he was welcomed back by the Liberal League, after his successful foreign tour of nearly six months. In the course of his reply to the hearty reception, he mentioned a rare quality of the Englishmen : "I was talking to a prominent English politician, and he told me that the English nation was a nation which was not in the habit of looking forward to things which were likely to happen 20 or 30 years hence, and that the English people were always in the habit of concentrating their attention upon the problems of the hour or of the day, and that by nature they were disinclined to face problems of distant future or to take very long sighted views. That is the general attitude of the English people and I think it was correctly described by that politician."

He described Western life and outlook in general as more advanced materially and richer in variety and atmosphere, where industry, commerce and art flourished. More than all he appreciated the enormous activity of the Western people; he wound up the speech by saying : "The most useful lessons which force themselves on your mind after a fairly extensive tour are the need for advance not along one line or another, but along all lines, the need for a broader outlook on life and the need for vigorous prosecution of ideals for a further development of the faculties in us as individuals."



CHAPTER VII

GLOW WITHOUT GLARE

People today, aware of the munificent donations of Sivaswami Aiyer towards the rearing up of the Tirukkattupalli High School for boys near his own native village and the Lady Sivaswami Aiyer Girls' High School at Mylapore, may not have suspicion of any parsimony or ungenerosity to be associated with his name. But in the early decades of this century many believed that he had been unduly careful with regard to his wordly possessions and that he had paid too much regard for money. One of the main reasons, perhaps, for the ignorance of people regarding his benefactions was a total disregard he had developed from the beginning towards publicity. As a matter of fact even as early as 1906, when he came to know of financial deficit occurring in the management of the small school at Tirukkattupalli, which had then been only a lower secondary school, he volunteered with a donation of Rs. 500 towards the deficit. At the suggestion of an inspector of schools, there was a move to raise the status of the school into a high school. Sivaswami Aiyer came to the aid of the school in replenishing its resources, and soon, when he was the Advocate General of Madras, became the president of the board of management, consisting of some local men of influence.

From 1907, there was a perceptible change in and steady growth of the school. Very soon Sivaswami Aiyer purchased the

building of the old school. The final school leaving class was opened in 1908. Further, a block of four rooms costing about Rs. 10,000 was added to the old building. Grounds adjoining the building were fields and coconut groves and they were acquired for the expansion of the school premises. From 1913, the buildings of the school began to acquire a new shape. The then Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland, visited the institution for presiding over a prize distribution.

If Sivaswami Aiyer felt the need of education for boys through private philanthropy, he was also imbued with the pioneering spirit to take education to the rural parts. He was not for drawing the youth, living in the mofussil, to the city. As far as possible, high school education, according to him, should be imparted in the rural areas and only for collegiate courses boys need go to the metropolis.

The history of the Boys' school from the reports gathered, provides a record of its gradually improving conditions and achievements. From about 1918 or so, financial aid also from the Government began to flow in. In 1936 a residential hostel for students and a wide campus of 9½ acres were added to the premises with the help of the Government, whose building grant came to about Rs. 60,000 and the management matched it by their contribution of nearly Rs. 75,000.

In 1926, Sivaswami Aiyer transferred the management of the school to a board of trustees who were entrusted with the responsibility of the educational charities for a lakh of rupees held as capital in 3½ per cent Government securities. Himself as the Chairman, with the Headmaster as ex-officio member and secretary to the Board, it contained other eminent publicists such as T.R. Venkatarama Sastri, P.E. Subrahmania Aiyer and K.S. Vaidyanatha Aiyer. After 1940, nearly 40 acres of agricultural lands were added for providing facilities for training students in farming.

From his early days Sivaswami Aiyer was also feeling the need for our girls receiving sound education. No doubt, he was not for higher studies as a matter of regular course to all girls. Special aptitudes have to be provided for in the case of such women who disclosed a greater incentive for advanced studies, and he would not grudge them such facilities and encouragement as they required. But he was certainly not for the same course of studies for both boys and girls, at any rate, in collegiate classes. He was till his death very doubtful of the benefits of the advance made by our women in branches of professional training such as medical, engineering, legal, etc. He was not prepared for the times when women could join the constabulary and discharge functions demanding physical strain. He was to that extent a conservative and traditionalist.

A brief outline of the origin and growth of the Lady Sivaswami Aiyer Girls' High School, Mylapore, can bring out vividly the benefaction of Sivaswami Aiyer so far as education of girls was concerned. When he took up the National Girls' High School, as it was once called, he was not himself sure of the place it would occupy in the educational field in future.

In 1930, when the school's progress was impeded, Sivaswami Aiyer assumed presidentship of a committee, influential and devoted to education, and began to shape the destinies of the girls' school. Apart from his original undertaking of its financial responsibility to a great extent, his bequest of nearly four lakhs that he had acquired by selling his palatial residence 'Sudharma' in Edward Elliots Road, proved a source of great strength to the expansion of the institution. There were others also, such as S. Varadachariar, loyal to the memory of his *Guru*, Sivaswami Aiyer, who made their own signal contributions towards the finance and management of the school. At the time of the centenary function of the founder of the Lady Sivaswami Aiyer Girls' High School in 1963, it was reported that the school had on

its roll a thousand and six hundred pupils.

Sivaswami Aiyer shunned the usual desire for being known outside as a great philanthropist. For a long time he even would not agree to the name of Lady Sivaswami Aiyer being associated with the school. It remained till his death in 1946, as Mylapore National Girls' High School.

To sell a mansion as 'Sudharma' would have required of its owner unusual spirit of sacrifice and detachment of mind. It was a magnificent building, amidst spacious grounds, facing south, the house and garden were like a dreamland. It is said, he had consulted a French expert before constructing it in 1912. The marbled verandah and the Italian tiled flooring of the apartments added to its richness. He had special attention devoted to his library where he had preserved volumes of both English and Sanskrit literature. Speaking of Sivaswami Aiyer's library V.S. Srinivasa Sastri said : "Of books he is a great buyer as well as a great lover. He knows all about the art of preserving them from the ravages of insects. Most of them are as fresh on his shelves today as when they first came there. For such a large collection as he has, I fancy the losses by theft and unreturned loan are not many. You must see his delicate handling of books and the frequent wiping of the open page with his palm as he reads, on the alert against specks of dust unseen by the eye but not to be allowed to soil the dwelling spots of learning. I have seldom seen him hold a book with one irreverent hand or unfeelingly open it wider than necessary. If anyone doubled a book in his presence he would writhe as though a baby was being strangled. The library is the one orphan he will leave behind, and its fate after him is a perennial topic of speculation to the gossips of the locality, whom the affairs of other people vex much as their own."* Such a rare library, by his last will and testament was bequeathed to the Vivekananda

College which had by then come into existence. The house with its spacious garden and extensive grounds was sold by him for the benefit of the girls' school, and he thereafter shifted to a rented building.

Ever cautious in his purposeful benefactions, he was not known much for donating generously to indifferent causes. When, in response to the appeal in December 1916, of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for funds to the Banaras Hindu University, he could only part with a thousand rupees, it was gossiped about that his heart was not easily moved to make handsome donations. Some of the citizens of Madras who were present at the public meeting hissed their disapproval even when the amount of his donation was announced along with those of some others. People then had no knowledge of the princely benefactions he had made already for the cause of education in his place. More than anything else, the equanimity with which he bore the displeasure and avowed intolerance of people was praiseworthy.

His interest in Sanskrit was so great that he was agreeable to remain the President of Trust Board of the Madras Sanskrit College founded by his friend, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. For nearly three decades and more, till his passing away in 1946, he guided the destinies of that institution. He even made provisions in his will for a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Sanskrit College. There is an interesting episode also concerning this belated bequest of his to that institution. Brahmasri Lakshmana Sastri, a scholar in Vedanta and one of the regular consultants of Sivaswami Aiyer when he had doubts in *sastraic* learning, happened one day to point mildly about Madras Sanskrit College. Without directly reminding Sivaswami Aiyer of the need for a donation from him to the Sanskrit College, he recalled the episode of Arjuna and Duryodhana both approaching Sri Krishna for help in the impending war between the Kaurava and Pandava hosts. To Arjuna the Lord gave himself entirely and to Duryodhana he gave his entire army to serve. In

a similar way, the pandit observed, that Sivaswami Aiyer had placed his entire self and services at the disposal of the Sanskrit College in his capacity as the president of its board of trustees for a number of years, but placed all his material resources at the command of his own schools at Tirukkattupalli and Mylapore. Sivaswami Aiyer said with a smile that the pandit had cleverly made him realise his duty towards that institution.

Sivaswami Aiyer's precise and sober views on all important matters of public life induced more than one University to invite him to deliver convocation addresses to the graduates of the year. Thus, Madras in 1914, Banaras in 1919, Mysore in 1923 and Lucknow in 1933, had the benefit of his wise counsel, to the assembled graduates at their respective convocations.

Even a cursory perusal of these learned addresses will be sufficient to impress the thoughtful among us to view with great satisfaction, that uninfluenced by temptations for popularity he had given expression to what he had deemed worthwhile communicating to younger minds. A few snatches from of his addresses at such academic bodies can convince us of the extent of his studies and the depth of his experience.

In his Banaras Hindu University convocation address, he referred to what Rabindranath Tagore had found fault with as lacking of Hindu ideals in a University bearing on its name the word 'Hindu'. He said : "In a speech recently made in the South it was observed by Sir Rabindranath Tagore that even in the Hindu University, he could find very little that could be called really Hindu. What was probably in the mind of our illustrious countryman was that proper provision had not been made for the teaching of religion in the curriculam. As already pointed out, religious instruction was one of the objects with which this University was founded and it is, therefore, pledged to provide for such instruction."*

* A Great Liberal, p.11

In a secular State as ours, things have so much changed and values have speedily undergone complete revision of emphasis, that religious instruction in educational institutions is now looked upon as not conducive to the growth of communal harmony and amity.

On the growing contact with other countries of the world, Sivaswami Aiyer stressed the usefulness of a receptive mind in every aspect of our life : "If our country is to survive the struggle and acquire the same vitality as other nations, it can only be by the assimilation of the scientific knowledge and culture of the West. Our adaptation to the changed conditions can only be brought about by a combination of Indian and European culture and not by the sacrifice of the former by the slavish absorption of the latter."

Regarding the aim of education he said : "I might enlarge the conception of culture still further by including a love of intellectual honesty and the habit of forming a balanced judgement after careful examination of the different sides of any question that may arise for consideration." The two particular traits, namely, intellectual honesty and balanced judgement, proved the two solid pillar-posts over which rested the arch of his own cultural refinement. Regarding the eternal question of the generation-gap, he cautiously remarked : "I have no intention of making any invidious comparison between the old and the new generations to the disadvantage of the latter, and I have tried to avoid the besetting tendency of aged people to praise bygone times and depreciate the present. I cannot help, however, feeling that the average graduate falls far short of the ideal I have set forth." He was also not much impressed with the general knowledge picked up by our young people during their student days when they would be having less of life's problems to solve. He recollected an incident : "A few years ago, I happened to take part in the *viva voce* examination, at Delhi, of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, I asked a candidate what the shortest route was from Delhi to Australia and his reply was that he would first go from London to St. Petersburg and

thence to Australia. Several candidates were unable to name the provinces of India or their capitals. Many of the students have not acquired the habit of consulting a dictionary. The narrow range of their intellectual interests can be judged from the quality of books and journals they read."

If in the year 1933, Sivaswami Aiyer should have described the poor quality of the general knowledge and range of studies of graduates, we wonder what would be his opinion, were he to live again to see the woeful plight in which students find themselves today when even apart from their own decreasing appetite for intellectual food, they have been driven to severe straits by the frequent changes in educational policies of successive popular governments and the linguistic approach favoured for the pursuit of knowledge.

Dwelling on the need for learning English, he said in his address at the Meenakshi College at Chidambaram in 1920, that it would be waste of time to speak upon the obvious necessity of learning English, granting that English had to be learnt as a language of administration and as a common medium of intercourse throughout this country and throughout the civilised world. Though he was no pedagogic expert, he was struck by the fact that there was a very large amount of strain and energy put forth in the study of English, which bore no proportionate results. One wished that better and less wasteful methods might be found for teaching a foreign language. But strain or no strain, the student had to learn it. He did not conceive of any time in the future, even after the attainment of full self-government, when it would be unnecessary for them to learn the language which had gained the widest currency in the world. Apart from that, it contained treasures of thought and beauty well worth their respectful attention.

He deprecated the prevalent habit of submission to the magic of the printed world. Whatever was in print became gospel to thousands who took their opinions wholesale from newspapers.

Books of the hour and writings of topical value have no doubt their place in a person's equipment in life, but the priceless treasures of literature were only those which had beckoned the voyagers to their shores for all times. It might be a safe guidance, according to him, to incline oneself to contemporary literature which had survived at least twenty years.

It would be surprising to most of the present generation how he felt strongly that the language of the region could be the medium of instruction if sufficient and suitable text books could be brought out in it. But then, at the time he spoke those words the question of medium of instruction had not assumed such proportions and importance as it has today. Still he was for experimenting with the use of the regional languages even in the university course.

He was also critical of the methods of teaching in colleges and high schools and gave constructive suggestions for raising the standards everywhere.

□□□

CHAPTER VIII

A UNIQUE PERSONALITY

People who knew Sivaswami Aiyer in his fifties could not have believed that in his thirties he had been considered quite a handsome person. Though not of a fair complexion, his countenance bore chiselled and striking features. His forehead was broad, while his shapely nose and mouth conveyed a firm but equable temperament. His eyes betokened a mild curiosity in everything with an apparent glow of intellectuality. He was not very tall, but created no feeling of lacking in stature. In all his earlier photographs one could see how careful he was not to present a full frontal face but, with a slant given to his head, three-quarter profile only of his face was presented to view, thereby conveying how much of a connoisseur he was in his tastes. He wore in his younger days sparkling diamond studs on his ears, which were a symbol of status in society. He wound his turban in such a manner that its heaviness and height added dignity to his noble forehead. Even in his haircut could be perceived his individuality when a portion of his hair in a fine curve beneath his headgear was displayed. Years back it was noticeable that he was not much after laced turbans, though later he began using them. In his outfit and formal dress he was reckoned as a well-groomed person. Whenever he went out for a walk, he was punctilious both with regard to the dress he wore as well as the time and distance he covered.

In his early days he had horse-riding also as a part of his morning exercise. he did not allow his studious habits to encroach upon his hobbies, of which one was violin-playing which he had learnt under a recognised artiste by the name, Nemam Natesa Bhagavathar. His appreciation of the solemnity of the Western organ music, would leave one to conclude that his taste had leaned towards preserving of the quality of "sublime" in music. In his inaugural address at the opening of the Music Conference held by the Music Academy, Madras in 1936, he remarked : "Another innovation within the last few years is the Indian Orchestra comprising in itself half a dozen instruments of each kind and of several kinds. The innovation has not struck me as either suitable or pleasing."

He was not for one moment making anything of a fetish in his preferences in art though generally he was inclined to Western models of beauty in painting and sculpture. Still, if occasions offered themselves for changing his view or moderating his criticism, he would keep an open mind in his effort to understand a different point of view. It is within the writer's memory how Sivaswami Aiyer was not much drawn to the Bengal school of painting which had attained some prominence in the wake of the pioneering efforts of Abanindranath Tagore and Dr. Havell. Once, on noticing in a journal, a picture of the school of Indian art, Sivaswami Aiyer became a bit aggressively opposed to such pictures being so sedulously displayed in certain journals. Meeting with some persistent difference of opinion on that matter, he avowed his earnestness to know how Indian art deserved such encomiums as generally he found among the new art-lovers. He was requested by the present writer to read some of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's books which without the least hesitation he was prepared to do, postponing a discussion of the merits of Indian art to a later day. After sometime, happening to read a pamphlet on 'An Approach to Indian Art', he was persuaded to agree with its

author that there was a good deal, worthy of appreciation in the interpretative art of the East. At the same time he was counselling the author of the pamphlet not to ignore the norms by which Western art had gained recognition from connoisseurs the world over.

One more instance to prove his open-mindedness is as follows : It was the occasion for raising a memorial to S. Satyamurti, the orator and patriot. The Madras Samskrita Academy was collecting funds for the purpose of instituting an endowment in his name in commemoration of his services to the cause of Sanskrit. Sivaswami Aiyer happened to be a Vice-President of that body, but still he was not touched by the appeal for funds. He argued that Satyamurti was not a profound Sanskrit scholar though he might have been a great lover of the language. When the secretary reminded Sivaswami Aiyer of his self-confessed high impressions of Satyamurti's gifts as a parliamentarian of the first rank, Sivaswami Aiyer relented saying that such a champion of worthy causes should not go unrecognised, and then gave a token contribution.

Sivaswami Aiyer possessed a nature which could not evoke immediate appreciation from outside for his intrinsic qualities. He was of a type which shrank from the normal methods of attracting attention. His manner was not genial, his reception of people never warm and his entire demeanour bespoke a studied avoidance of all claims of familiarity. But at the same time those who had known him at close quarters could bear witness to an integrity of character that hardly descended to any sort of make-believes. His genuineness of approach to both men and matters required time to judge them properly.

To some extent, his demeanour was not conducive to a quick exchange of ideas or communications. For, generally a bit slow and deliberate in his decisions, he could not under any circumstance be hustled into making any statement or tendering any opinion.

Certain things might have depressed younger spirits when coming into contact with him. He was not only accurate of his knowledge of many things but was keen on making others realise the need for precision. Thus, if a young friend happened to be enthusiastic about any cause, Sivaswami Aiyer would be out for examining the basis for such an ardent advocacy of it. But that never precluded him from encouraging younger men in their activities, provided he was satisfied with the possibilities for any good or enduring outcome of them.

His domestic life was patterned upon a disciplined and scheduled programme of activities for the day. His servants, many of them grew old in his service, and on their retirement or passing away he did not stint in his gratuities to their families or descendants. One Gopala Aiyer was his personal attendant. His family was maintained by Sivaswami Aiyer. He lived in the apartments allotted for him within the compound of his master's residence.

His amanuensis and typist happened to be a graduate by the name of T.V. Doraiswami, on whom depended the careful upkeep of the correspondence-files as well as other important papers. Things were performed in his residence according to a premeditated plan. If the garden *maistry* should make his appearance before him, there was a particular ritual for him to undergo, namely, the wearing of a turban and shirt. If he was directed to reshape the flower-beds or mow the grass-lawn, a particular part of the season was chosen for it; the master familiarised him with the needs of the seasonals that were to be planted. He was prompt in paying for the seeds or seedlings. He often experimented with the cultivation of some of the hill-creepers and flowers plants from Ootacamund, in the garden at 'Sudharma'. His meticulous care in tending plants with knowledge of their botanical names, struck some friends as a peculiar feature of his memory. But those who knew him remembering events which

happened forty or fifty years back in his life with an astounding accuracy could hardly imagine anything impossible for his memory to retain.

It was true, Sivaswami Aiyer was not a prodigal in his tastes. It was gossipped about that during tennis-parties arranged at his residence, there used to be no indication of any light refreshments or tea to be served, unless specially requisitioned. It was also a comment frequently levelled at him that a touch of parsimony was visible in his domestic arrangements. But people who came to know him intimately were not aware of any such stringency in his general show of hospitality to the large number of guests who stayed with him. Perhaps no other person was more qualified to express with knowledge of Sivaswami Aiyer's nature than T.R. Venkatarama Sastri. He has said : "There was an impression that Mr. Sivaswami Aiyer was unsocial and not hospitable. I have not found it so in my personal experience but I have heard it expressed. The impression starts from small incidents, but once formed, it grows and persists. It is often the result of inattention to things, that others expect but do not get from us. In some houses attention is carefully cultivated, so carefully that, entering them at any hour of the day without appointment, you get an offer of a cup of coffee from more than one member independently and instinctively. That attention is a good social investment."* Another possible explanation that could be advanced on his behalf is, that he was so very meticulous and punctual in his calls on others by previous appointment, that he was never considering it a defect in a hospitable nature not to provide some of the aids to cordiality and social relationship when visitors came without any previous intimation of their arrivals. Further, he was so much adhering to certain principles in relation to his servants and their hours of retirement for the day from work that it was unthinkable for him to require them for attendance on guests at all hours.

* Satabhishekam Souvenir Vol, p.50

But these are minor matters, because persons of the eminence of M. Visvesvarayya, Tej Bahadur Sapru and C.Y. Chintamani, who had enjoyed his hospitality at 'Sudharma' spoke with extreme satisfaction of his attentions. Sapru once remarked that after having tasted coffee at Sivaswami Aiyer's he was diffident to entertain any South Indian with coffee in his own place. A friend of Sivaswami Aiyer, C.R. Narayan Rao of Bangalore, has said : "His hospitalilty is as lavish as his consideration is charming. His private life is refined, perhaps aristocratic : his principles sternly exalted, his habits regulated by clocks and watches. . . The hours of his taking orange juice, breakfast, afternoon coffee, dinner and rest were judiciously determined more than a couple of generations ago, and these fixtures are solemn and immutable."*

As age advanced he disclosed a tendency to stoutness which, however, did not render his appearance uncouth. On the other hand, it gained for him an impressive dignity. There was no occasion for him to feel that anything went wrong with himself. For, in a well-planned retirement from active life, not a day was passed without regularity and method that had carried him like two wings in his steady progress across the major part of his four-score odd years. Only in some of the outward fashions he adopted the English style. In his personal habits he never changed much from the Indian tradition even after his long tours in foreign lands. As a matter of fact, the reason why he spent extra money on a personal attendant throughout his foreign tours was his anxiety not to depend on food and victuals supplied at foreign hotels. His cook helped him throughout to keep him fit and active during his voyage to Europe, U.S.A. and Canada. In his life he had hardly any occasion to have food outside except at intimate friends' places on invitation. His bath at stated time, performance of *Sandhyavandanam* in the morning, afternoon and evening, annual observances of Sraddhas for his parents—all connoted the

* Satabhishekam Souvenir Vol, p.24

immutability of time-honoured regulations that he respected. All religious festivals and special fasts were observed by him. The *Navaratri*, festival of nine nights, was observed by him and his wife with the eclat associated with it in Hindu ceremonies. Religious expositions from *Srimad Bhagavata* or *Devi Bhagavata* used to be conducted by some learned pandit and listened to with faith by his wife and himself. Brahmins were fed in his house in the ancient manner with all the paraphernalia of a Hindu ritual.

During *Deepavali*, he and his partner would have their oil bath and dress themselves in new clothes. Then the entire staff of his household would be presented with new clothes. Dr. S.R. Ranganathan, the father of Library Science in India, has provided us with the vivid picture of an unusual incident witnessed by him : "It was early morning in July. As I had to leave Madras for Banaras, I went to his home to take leave of him. He had by then moved into a small rented house. He was sitting in an inclining chair. His trusted head cook was standing by his side with a tray filled with currency notes and cash. There was a queue standing in front of them. The cook called out each person after another, and put in the hands of Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer some money which he handed over to him with kindness. About twenty persons received money that way. After it was all over, I asked him about it. He said : 'Most of these people are either my retired servants or children of my retired servants. I make them a monthly payment to make their life comfortable'. But I found a good looking lawyer in the queue. About him Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer said : 'He is the son of an old colleague of mine. This man has been leading a careless life and spoiling himself. Out of my respect to his father I pay him a hundred rupees every month'. 'Is this a dream?' I thought. I told him that nobody knew about this dispensing charity by him. Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer replied, 'Why should they know? These people are happy. That is all that I want'. I hesitated to speak. Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer again said : I know what you are

thinking of. What does it matter if gossip calls me a miser?"⁺

He was particularly careful not to be drawn into any conversation savouring of flippancy. He even used to be curt if a friend tried to persist in any wild talk of others, saying, "please learn that I have no desire to know about these things you want me to be acquainted with."*

When he was staying in a rented building, visitors used to comment on the ill-ventilated habitation he had voluntarily imposed on himself. His reply used to be echoing what Manu in his Dharma Sastra has stated : "If you can assure me that I can take with me my possessions in my last journey. . . the only firm friend who follows men beyond death is Dharma, the rest will become annihilated along with the body."

People had doubted his orthodoxy on account of his very progressive outlook in many social matters like divorce, birth-control, etc., but very few knew how much of a hold our ancient scriptures had on him. His love of Srimad Bhagavata was well known. It is again within the writer's memory that a few months before his death, during a visit to him while he was ailing, Sivaswami Aiyer wanted him to get a person who would musically render the verse bearing Rukmini's love-message to the Lord. Many others who had occasions to meet him at closer quarters have testified to his devotion to Srimad Bhagavata in preference to the Ramayana. Once, while reading the Aranya Kanda of Valmiki Ramayana, he suddenly turned to the pandit and said : "Well pardon me, if I am not for further continuing our joint study of the Ramayana. Let us have Srimad Bhagavatam which is to me the only sweet fountain for slaking my thirst." One of his earliest disciples in the legal profession, T.R. Venatarama Sastri, had spoken of this unique love he bore to the Bhagavata. Dr. S.R. Ranganathan had also referred to it : "Thereafter he worked himself to ecstasy and read out the

⁺ Birth Centenary Souvenir, p. 49

^{*} Life of Sivaswami Aiyer, in Tamil by Headmistress Chellam, p.44

chapter in the Bhagavatha, describing Uddhava's visit to Gokula. He read it aloud in a singsong tone. It was far from musical and still he said, 'This beautiful piece should be sung like this'.^{*} Apparently Sivaswami Aiyer's heart felt saturated only with the verses of the Bhagavata. Lovers of Sanskrit poetry normally would prefer the Valmiki Ramayana to Srimad Bhagavata because of the comparative simplicity of language and limpidity of the flow of the Ramayana verses.

In his own way he was examining many of the tenets of Hinduism and when anything struck him as fossilised or too much out of date for modern practice, he was not slow to discard it, though never betraying any irreverent attitude in his criticism. For long his mind was exercised over the cult of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) as a Hindu doctrine. He was academically trying to examine how far *Ahimsa* could be recognised in its absolute implications and whether Hindu thought at all supplied any basis for making it an absolute principle for guidance in life. All his researches in our ancient texts did not lead him to conclude that *Ahimsa* as doctrine influencing life should be deemed practicable without qualifications. When an opportunity came for him to give expression to his views on *Ahimsa* and the allied topic *Asangha* he snatched it with all the earnestness and humility of a regular seeker of light from the *Sastras*. The University of Madras chose Sivaswami Aiyer to deliver the inaugural lectures of the Dr. Besant Memorial Endowment (1940). Tracing the doctrine to its earliest appearance in the sacred literature and examining its true connotations, he was able to establish how the term in the Hindu sacred books "embraces not merely human beings, but also lower animals." He added that "it must not be inferred from the generality of the terms in which the maxim of *Ahimsa* is laid down that it admits of no exceptions, limitations or qualifications."^{**} He

* Birth Centenary, Souvenir, p. 50

* A Great Liberal, p. 657

was sure that the Hindu commentators "realised the importance of reconciling conflicting texts and declined to lay down impracticable rules of conduct." He was convinced that "the teaching of the *Gita* is undoubtedly in favour of fighting against unrighteousness not by means of non-violence but by recourse to arms. Whatever may be the rule of conduct applicable to ascetics or hermits who have retired from the world and who may not concern themselves with the welfare of organised societies, one who lives in society is not justified in adopting rules of conduct applicable to those who have renounced the world. The citizen of a State is under an obligation to resist aggression by taking arms, if necessary and possible."* So, in unequivocal language he expressed his disapproval of the view held by Gandhiji on *Ahimsa*. No doubt *Patanjali Yoga Sutra* defines it as '*Ahimsa Pratishthayam tat Sannidhou Vaiathyagaha*' (Non-violence once fully established there will be no chance for any kind of enmity existing in its presence). Sivaswami Aiyer was not aware of the greater stringency of the application of rules of non-violence in Jainism and Buddhism, which, according to him, were carried to ridiculous lengths. In conclusion he stressed that "the unqualified doctrine of non-violence has never been carried out in practice," so far as Hindu thought was concerned.

Asangha (which by the way is the same as *anasakti*) or non-attachment, according to Sivaswami Aiyer, was not an end in itself but only a means. He questioned its full import, when he examined it, as involving from the worldly point of view, the negation or suppression of all desire for pleasures, and as only confined to some. Innocent pleasures, like love of knowledge and scientific research, love of nature, love of literature and arts, love of friendship, travelling and games, if they are moderate, cannot invite objections. He had to dive into the *sastraic* interpretations of the doctrine, which according to all orthodox views in Hinduism, was regarded as the *summum bonum* of life. He referred to the

* Great Liberal, p. 662

Gita exhortation laying emphasis upon renunciation of desires. He was sure that the *Gita* text did not totally forbid any entertainment of desire, but aimed at its regulation and control and that it preached equanimity of mind without allowing oneself to be enslaved by the senses. He was favouring Lokamanya Tilak's interpretation of the *Gita* in his *Gita Rahasya* and held that it was more likely to be acceptable to the modern mind than the other view which leads finally to quietism and complete giving up of the world. Tilak's views was, according to him, more in accord with modern tendency to activism.

In describing his own spiritual ideal Sivaswami Aiyer was able to clothe it in the following terms : "My spiritual ideals would include altruism, bliss, bhakti or devotion, and the contemplation of perfection in the state of divinity."*

As already mentioned, daily walks, hours set apart for reading newspapers or magazines, fixed time for bath and food, appointments for interviews of visitors, intervals devoted to correspondence and private accounts and family affairs,—these made up Sivaswami Aiyer's well arranged routine. If he left during summer for the hills, where his house, 'Elk Hill View' in Ootacamund, was a well-furnished one, with a flower garden, the time of departure as well as duration of his stay were previously fixed. Normally, he was not known to break his summer stay on the hills for any reason, unless it was for an unforeseen emergency. Latterly, on the advice of doctors, he had to abandon the hill resort for summer months and stay in Bangalore.

Whether it was Madras, Ootacamund or Bangalore, there used to be not much of a change in his daily programme of activities. If his portly figure in western dress was visible on the Marina in Madras between certain stated hours, it was similarly found between the months of June and September moving along

* Indian Review, p. 360 (1944)

the Avenue Road in Bangalore during certain known hours. His car was asked to stop at a particular spot for him to terminate his walk and seek rest in its seat. Ever carrying a walking stick, he proceeded at an orderly pace which did not entail any strain on him. A friend has graphically described this : "His preparation for his evening constitutional is an elaborate ceremony. The hair is brushed with diligence; the coats and trousers must be spotless and creaseless; shoes blacked and polished : his two handkerchiefs scented. He is fond of winged collars, because they are an outward symbol of a cultivated mind. However, he keeps an open mind on the colour of neckties, generally favouring the more restrained colours. He will not stir out without two watches, one in the waist-coat pocket, and another on the wrist. Though he has recently developed a taste for lace-turban, he deliberately gives it a Madras touch. I suspect that this style may have some connection with the display of his beautiful hair in a fine curve behind the head dress, whose charms the Mysore fashion would hardly reveal. Dressed so meticulously and elaborately, he looks a typical aristocratic gentleman, chaste and polished, and underneath it there beats a true and well tempered Indian heart, with all its largeness of love and charity."*

Books were his unfailing companions. In the words of V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, "He hails from those spacious days when no man had a claim to culture unless he knew something of everything and everything of something."** Of his library, people who visited it, had spoken of the variety of interests discovered there and the extreme care devoted to the preservation of books. The library room itself was large with a table in the centre at which Sivaswami Aiyer studied with his pencil to note down passages which, he felt were important. He scrupulously avoided marking passages in the books.

* Satabhishekam Volume, p, 25

** *Ibid*, p. 60

Sivaswami Aiyer was not liberal in lending his books. He used to buy new volumes after carefully noticing reviews of them. To risk the loss of any volume from a library built up with immense attention and devotion was anathema to him. It is within the writer's recollection, that when as a young student of constitutions, he sought of Sivaswami Aiyer to lend him Marriott's 'The Mechanism of the Modern State', the latter was visibly perturbed and began to catechise him on the purpose of his need for the two volumes. After satisfying himself regarding the earnestness of the borrower, he mentioned the conditions to be observed by him if he was allowed the privilege of taking them home. The reader should not open the pages wider than necessary or handle the volume in any manner as would affect its use afterwards. More than anything else, the book should not be left open on the table under any circumstance; if the reader required to know the page at which he had left reading, he should insert a book-mark and leave the volume closed. After these injunctions to which the borrower meekly submitted, Sivaswami Aiyer again shifted his position, leading to a suggestion, why the applicant could not make an attempt to read the volumes in his own library where every facility would be provided for an undistracted perusal of the books. The books were never borrowed by the present writer!

From a letter he wrote to Dr. Lin Yutang, the renowned Chinese author, we can gather how much his mind was immersed in literary studies. The book 'Importance of Living' is a very enlightening and enjoyable work of that author. Sivaswami Aiyer was often remarking that it was one of his bedside volumes of which he loved to read passages over and over again. He wrote to the author his appreciation thus : " I have read it with the greatest delight and appreciation and admiration of your genius for humour and your literary finish. It deserves to rank among the gems of English literature. I have been boosting this book and recommending it to all my friends who care for the enjoyment of

literature. I have since gone in for your other and earlier book, 'My country And My people.' One is struck with many resemblances and affinities in thoughts and sentiments between the Chinese and the Hindus. . . *

If literature drew him, no less was his interest in books on philosophy. Reading Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's 'The World's Unborn Soul' which was the professor's inaugural address from the Spalding Chair at Oxford for Eastern Religions and Ethics, Sivaswami Aiyer expressed : "Your inaugural address has all the merits which we have learnt to associate with your utterances—great erudition, literary beauty, a wealth of imagery and an eloquence which it is difficult to resist. It is a thought-provoking address. Though, as a humble experimentalist I find it difficult to accept wholesale the teaching of an intuitionist philosopher, I can admire your address, and I may express a hope that the course of lectures to be delivered will more than bear out the promise of the inaugural address. Your address deserves to be read and pondered over more than once." **

The same letter sought from the philosopher certain points of clarification. It is a long list of doubts seeking explanation. He received from Dr. Radhakrishnan a brief note and appreciation of his own 'Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals' of which a copy was sent to the other for eliciting his remarks and suggestions before it was finally printed. Sivaswami Aiyer was a bit disappointed because Dr. Radhakrishnan had not made any of those remarks or suggestions earnestly sought for by him. On the other hand, when told of Sivaswami Aiyer's dissatisfaction, Dr. Radhakrishnan made a profound observation, (I am not quoting his exact words), which is still within the memory of this writer : "Books come out of an author as from one's birth-pangs; If the writer's mind has been relieved of their oppressiveness, no need, for the time being, for

* A Great Liberal, p. 755

** Unpublished letters, private collection, dated 1-5-1937

him to worry about how the child looks like. One has to comfort himself that the next child may fare better; that is all one can expect."

Sivaswami Aiyer's qualification as a belletrist could stand the test of another scholar and critic, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri. The latter had an occasion to narrate the following incident : "Once he invited Venkataraman and me to his study and read to me a long passage from an American author, whose name my failing memory is unable to recall. The passage was of high quality and loaded to saturation point and beyond with allusions to contemporary as well as classical literature. Not all of these were known to us. But Sivaswami Aiyer's reading showed appreciation and enjoyment to such a degree that we caught them from him and by sheer sympathy became temporary admirers of a style which, without his inspiring guidance, might have repelled us by its ostentatious parade of recondite minutiae."*

He owned a style which was never given to flourishes of any kind but made it easy for understanding him without any doubt. He rather erred on the side of contraction in his statements than in elaboration for the sake of displaying his knowledge on any subject. Still, read in print, all his written speeches as well as other writings, both in correspondence and important public writings, convey a mind which was attempting all the time to be as precise and clear as possible. Of course his long statements possessed information accurately stated in the most dignified manner. He never strained for effects; he was not eager to be reckoned as a great writer as he was free from such ambitions in anything he did in his long life. Often younger men with talents and a good turn for expression elicited encouraging appreciation from him. Once or twice he was persuaded to express himself in Tamil and his performance was good.

* Satabhishekam Souvenir Vol, p.61-62

Always inclined to view every question from all aspects, he had invariably a habit of assessing any book that was submitted to his perusal with absolute fairness. Some of his friends such as G.A. Natesan (Editor of the *Indian Review*) and V.S. Srinivasa Sastri used to send him such books of importance as required careful reviewing in the *Indian Review*, Madras, or the *Servant of India*, Poona, respectively. A few examples will illustrate what justness of appreciation and critical acumen had been brought by him to bear upon his judgement. Two volumes of James Bryce (Viscount Bryce of Dechment) had emerged from the pen of H.A.L. Fisher in 1927, and Sivaswami Aiyer reviewed them. It was a long review detailing the notable activities in the life of Lord Bryce. He wrote about Bryce's conditioned sympathies with others thus : "It is unfortunately true that even the most spacious minds are not free from the limitations of sympathy created by differences of race, creed, colour and culture. It was easier for Bryce to sympathise with Germans than with the French, a difference due to the fact noted by Prof. Fisher, that Bryce was defective on the French side of humanities. We wish that he had turned the mirror upon England and America—America with her grip upon the Phillipines and England with her far-flung dominions and colonies asking only for mandate and protectorates over additional regions of the earth. . ."

A bit of irony also is introduced later in the criticism when he added, "Lord Bryce was probably of the opinion *pace* Sir John Seely and others who attribute the expansion of England to a set purpose and a fixed policy, that a benign providence, aware of the unaggressive purposes and high mission of England, was anxious to confide the destinies of the human race to England and to thrust into her unwilling lap the most strategically advantageous places and the fairest and richest regions of the world."*

Commenting on K.M. Panikar's book *The Indian States*

*

A Great Liberal, p. 67

and the Government of India (1928) Sivaswami Aiyer wrote : "His angle of vision is not that of the official apologist, but that of a student without any pre-possessions or prejudice. . ." He wound up his review with the remark : "As regards the solution of the future constitution of India, Mr. Panikkar's book does not throw much helpful light, but the process of forecasting the future is full of perils and the time is not yet ripe for constructive suggestions."+

Reviewing a book called '*Bankruptcy of Marriage in the West*' he said : "Mr. Calverton is a great admirer of the new order of sexual relations established in Soviet Russia. Practically it may be said that the tendency in Soviet Russia and among the advanced free thinkers of the West is to relegate sex relations to the sphere of non-moral actions. They are regarded as a matter of private interest only to the individuals concerned. The break-up of the institution of marriage inevitably spells the destruction of some of the finest moral values, the break-up of the family, of the notion of property and of many other institutions based upon the family and, in fact, of the whole social structure. . . Many would be inclined to say that there is no such danger in a country where the virtues of chastity and purity have been most highly prized and inculcated by religion. But the same sentiments were cherished equally strongly in puritan England and America. Nevertheless the youth of the New Age has succumbed to the allurements of the primrose path of dalliance. Will the new social forces at work in India be likely to take the same courses?"*

From his views on '*Mother England*' by Marie C. Stopes, we learn that he was not averse to the use of contraceptives : "There can be no doubt that, on balance, the need for the legitimate resort to contraception is far greater than the need in other cases. . . If India is ever to arise out of the depth of her poverty and

+ *Ibid*, p. 73

* *Ibid*, p. 84

degradation, she can only do so by learning to control births and raising the mothers of India to a higher standard of life, health and happiness."* He was not convinced of the efficacy of abstemious control by men. He felt how much "impracticable, futile and utopian that prescription" would be.

To show how Sivaswami Aiyer's reading of the *Gita* was more influenced by Tilak's views than of Gandhiji's, a passage from his review of the book '*If War Comes*' by B.P. Adarkar would be relevant. He observed : "Not the least interesting part of the book is the foreward by Meghanad Saha, which is an eloquent plea for the industrialisation of India and the creation of a defensive mentality among the people. He has done well to point out that the true doctrine of Hinduism is not the doctrine of passive resistance or pacifism, but, as pointed out in the *Gita*, the duty of a righteous war for just causes."**

The beauty of Nature captivated him as much as books. His garden both in 'Sudharma' in Madras and in 'Elk Hill View' at Ooty used to contain different types of flowers and plants. He loved to arrange flowers in vases though generally he was unwilling to pluck them from their stems. "One morning," recollects Dr. S.R. Ranganathan, "he began to collect flowers of various hues from the Government Garden (Ooty) and from his own garden. When we reached home, he spent quite a long time in arranging the flowers harmoniously by their colours. Having spent about half an hour in arranging them, he asked me, 'What do you think of this pattern?' Then he would interchange a few flowers saying, 'this is better'. During the long hours that he spent thus with the flowers, I could see the naturalness and the childlike innocence and simplicity which Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer had"***. Another Bangalore friend of

* A Great Liberal, p. 86

** Ibid, p. 96

*** Birth Centenary Volume, p. 50

his had noted : "While in the Park I have, on several occasions, inwardly shivered at Sir, P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer's tendency towards catechetics, which would range over *Malati*, *Maghadam*, *Parijata*, *Arali*, *Maruthani*, *Sihisha*, *Mardra*, *Vilata*, *Kanakambra*, *Spatika*, *Monoranjani*. In the depths of my bewilderment, his mind traversing the whole time the entire field of classical literature—he would stop, sniff and ask 'What is this fine smell or what is that pungent odour?'"*.

One other aspect of the man that deserves notice is his strictness in financial matters. While he was discriminatingly generous towards his relatives, servants and public causes, he was not for showing laxity in business relations with people: For instance, there were a few occasions when solvent persons had approached him for accommodation by loan on stipulated interest to be paid to him at stated intervals as well as the return of the principal at a particular time. If he was taking security for the loan advanced (in the shape of property by mortgage), he never showed leniency in his attitude to bring the property to sale, if the mortgagor was unable to keep the terms of the deed or return the principal in time. He was never a Shylock in his dealings, but ever wary in his leniency in cases of undue or protracted delay in payment. His language in correspondence with his debtors never assumed undue harshness but maintained the same even tenor as in his other dealings. An extract from a private letter of his to a borrower will bear out the truth of the above statement :

"I am rather surprised that you should state that you have been paying the interest regularly every month, while you know that the payments were often delayed for months together and I had to send you repeated reminders. You tell me that I have forced you to sell your property. But I have waited till the due date for repayment of the loan and you cannot say that I have forced you

* Satabhishekam Souvenir Vol, p.21

to sell your property at some loss, because I have asked for repayment of the loan on the due date. When I am entitled to the whole of the arrears of interest together with the principal and I asked you for payment at least of a moiety, you think it is not fair to you. I need only say that your notions of fairness are rather peculiar. . ."

□□□

CHAPTER IX

"RIPENESS IS ALL"

To resume the thread of narration, P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer had his sixty-first birth day celebrated in orthodox fashion with his wife in the year 1924.

When his wife fell ill in 1939, with blood pressure, nearer relatives advised the adoption of a boy for the performance of her obsequies. It is a matter of unusual significance that unlike many sentimental people, especially women in the conventional way of thinking, she refused to encourage any such idea. On the day when she breathed her last it was an unusual sight indeed to persons who were near, witnessing the funeral—Sivaswami Aiyer, having waited for the passing of the prohibited period of inauspiciousness for the funeral to start on its journey, came forward from his seat and with a calm, unruffled face and with no shake even in his voice, requested the pall-bearers to proceed with their duties. His nephew (brother's son) performed the last rites for Srimati Sivaswami Aiyer. When some friends gathered the next day at his residence for condoling with him, he was to all external appearances normal and was just referring to the deceased as one who had few wants while alive and had never once showed disrespect to the time-honoured rules of conduct of a Hindu wife. It was after her that the hostel at Tirukkattupalli High School was named as 'Kalyani Ammal Students' Hostel'.

Some people may not know that he did not permit the name of the National Girls' School at Mylapore to be changed, however much he was pressed upon by his admiring friends that it should bear its association with his name. It was only after his death on November 5, 1946, that the school changed its name as 'Lady Sivaswami Aiyer Girls' High School'.

When in February 1944, his *Satabhishekam* (80th birthday) was marked by public celebrations and by the publication of tributes to his life-work and philanthropy, there was great satisfaction felt everywhere. One of the discerning publicists of his times, Tej Bahadur Sapru, said of him at a public meeting convened at Allahabad to celebrate Sivaswami Aiyer's 80th birthday, that "there is scarcely a subject on which he has not addressed, on which he has not expressed considered and deliberate opinion. I can honestly say that there are very few books which have been written with so much ability, with so much impartiality as that book of Sivaswami Aiyer."* The reference was to 'The Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals' which was one of his latest writings. Many were the tributes he received on that occasion.

He was not for a day slaking his routine either in his intellectual pursuits or in his physical movements. But his health was showing signs of deterioration at the beginning of the year 1946. When V.S. Srinivasa Sastri passed away in April of the same year, Sivaswami Aiyer did not fail to call on the mourners at his residence, staying there for an allotted time. He returned home, sad at heart. Perhaps, that was his last formal visit outside his home. By June of the same year he was found frequently losing memory for details and requiring to be reminded of names of persons and things. Still in the afternoons he was for some time listening to *Srimad Bhagavatam* in the same way as he was habituated to do in the earlier days. But gradually, sitting in a chair also caused him some strain so that he began requiring an easy

* Satabhishekam Volume, p.138

chair for leaning his weight. Yet even during those declining days he was, whenever occasions arose, looking into his last Will and effecting suitable changes.

Even as he was slow and deliberate in his activities and decisions, his end too came without any haste. For nearly three days he was almost unconscious. To see him on his cot breathing hard with eyes closed, was a sad sight. Some of his friends and one of his brothers, D. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, were watching the ebbing spirit after a long, well-sustained, wholesome career on earth.

When portions of his last Will were read out on the thirteenth day people came to know of the careful provision he had made for organizations and institutions, like the Madras Sankrit College, The Vivekananda College, etc. He was very much aware of the needs of his own personal attendants. Hence to each one of them, as befitting his or her services, he had bequeathed material benefits.

What shall we say of him then, while we are drawing the curtain over his picture? He was a gentleman in the true sense in which writers like Cardinal Newman have described one to be. He made it his prime duty to carry out the ideals that he had in youth contemplated upon. His aim to advance the education of youngsters, particularly in the mofussil, was an ardent wish which he had cherished for many years. While any other person would have welcomed every source of personal income, at least for the sake of providing greater financial help to his institutions, he did not accept any salaried post after his retirement from the Executive Council in 1917. "How long to be going on earning for yourself?" he used to say. Once resolved, he did not forsake his resolution not to spend his well-earned retirement in further attempts to adding to his possessions and property. The only wealth he sought was of his own mental and spiritual growth.

An effective writer in Tamil, the late C.R. Srinivasan, editor

of the Swadesamitran, compared Sivaswami Aiyer to the massive, imposing and many-towered temple at Srirangam, with the two branches of the Cauveri encircling it. The river waters may in a season of freshes overflow its banks, but the temple remains solid and unaffected by the raging floods or storms. The analogy cannot be improved. Like the two arms of the river, Indian culture and Western thought embraced him. Like the lofty construction beneath whose dome the reclining God, Sri Ranganatha, has been enshrined, was his imposing figure within which was preserved an equanimity of mind and an unbiassed spirit. Even as the golden pinnacles of the towers seen from a distance glow in the morning sun, his ideals even from the distance of years shine before our eyes. His austerity in private life, profundity in thought and urbanity in behaviour are beacons for the succeeding generations.

Describing his own inclinations if he were to start again life, he said : "I do not believe in attempting to educate others before educating oneself, or seeking to improve others before improving oneself."* This maxim, which he scrupulously observed in his life, is a golden rule for all public workers, for all time to come.

□□□

APPENDIX I

VIEWS ON THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION (1920)

I see no necessity for using English as the medium of instruction and examination at every stage above matriculation in the University course for all time to come. If suitable textbooks can be brought into existence, in the leading vernaculars, English may cease to be the medium of instruction, and become only a compulsory second language; but, at present, the question seems to be not within range of immediate practical politics.

The majority of students who enter the University do not have an adequate command of English.

I think the experiment should be tried by adopting the vernaculars as the medium of instruction, throughout the secondary school course, even for students who are being prepared for the University. The result of relegating English to the position of a compulsory second language cannot possibly be worse than under the present system. On the other hand, the strain upon the student will be less severe, and he may be able to make better progress, both in regard to the command of English, and in regard to real knowledge of the other subjects of instruction.

The system of teaching now followed is quite unsatisfactory. With regard to a foreign language like English, I am a great believer in the value of the express teaching of grammar, the use of a dictionary and the employment of translation. Very few students use the dictionary in schools or colleges, and fewer still own a dictionary. I have very grave

doubts whether, without the habit of using a dictionary, and the help of translation, it would be possible to acquire clear and precise ideas as to the definitions of foreign words.

English should certainly be taught to all students during their University career. The standard may be that prescribed for the examination in English for the B.A. (Honours) student in English.

[A Great Liberal]

APPENDIX II

ON THE RAISING OF THE TARIFF

While I do not wish to commit myself in any way to any expression of approval or disapproval of the policy of the Government which has landed them in the necessity for raising an additional taxation of 18 crores, I wish to express my gratification that the Government have not hesitated to resort to raising the tariff. I am wedded to no particular theory of economics. I do not worship at the altar of Free Trade or at the altar of Protection. I worship only at the altar of India. The welfare of India is my first concern and the welfare of the Empire is the second object of my thoughts. In this connection, I am sure, everyone of us here must have read with feelings of amazement and indignation the attempt which has been made by the meddlesome merchants of Manchester to dictate to us on the question of our taxation-policy. We have suffered too long from the meddlesomeness of Manchester but now that we have got a representative legislature, we shall no longer submit to this dictation and we are determined to make that clear to Manchester. Sir, there is no ground whatever for this easily-excited alarm of the Manchester merchants. The Honourable Mr. Hailey has explained in his speech that the duties he has proposed are not of a protective character, but, even if they had been, this House would not on that ground alone have refused to support them. He has clearly explained that they are entirely for revenue purposes. Is there any country in the world which would hesitate to levy import duties for purely revenue purposes? Does England hesitate to levy import duties for revenue purposes? I believe, there is no country in the world which

does so.

Sir, tariffs are generally devised by countries with various objects, not necessarily for the purpose of protection. Very often they are devised for revenue purposes, and one of the best sources of revenue which can be easily manipulated from year to year is the revenue derived from customs. Another argument among many in favour of a tariff duty is, that it gives us a margin for negotiation with other countries in respect of tariffs. It is not, however, necessary for my present purpose to enter at length into the theory of tariffs or into a justification for the imposition of tariff duties. It is sufficient for me to say here, that we do not believe in the professions of free trade which Manchester finds it convenient to follow. Manchester very often expresses without any abashment the sense of danger which it feels itself from any proposals for revision of tariffs in the countries with which England may have dealings. Sometimes it utters philanthropic wails over the lot of the poor consumer in India, but we value them no better than we should value crocodile's tears. Now, Sir, I shall only say that it is a preposterous claim, and that if the merchants of Manchester wish to render more acute the situation in India which has been described by certain worthy gentlemen in England as a dangerous situation, I advise them to go on persisting in this policy which they have followed. If they wish to bring about the disruption of the Empire, they have only to pursue this policy. But I hope that Manchester does not represent the enlightened conscience of England or the enlightened public opinion of England any more than the House of Lords represented the enlightened conscience of England on the Punjab affair.

Sir, I regard it as a matter of the happiest augury to this country that His Majesty the King has appointed as our new Viceroy, one who has pledged himself to the pursuit of justice in larger fields than mere courts of law and who has set before himself the watchword of liberty, justice and love. It is a matter of the happiest augury that His Majesty the King Emperor should have chosen for our Viceroy one who in his person was the embodiment of justice and who was the supreme representative, till a few days ago, of justice in England, and I am convinced that with a

Viceroy following that watchword which he had set before himself we need have no misgivings of the success of our cause. Our cause is impregnable, and with a Viceroy like Lord Reading, there is no doubt whatever of our victory against Manchester I have also every confidence that the Government will be firm as a rock upon this question of the import duties.

(During a debate in the Indian Legislative Council on the Finance Bill, 1921—"A Great Liberal").

APPENDIX III

ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (18-10-22)

This is a brief note of the impressions left on the mind of an Indian by the third session of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. The writer had not attended the previous meetings of the Assembly and had no very distinct notions of the character of the body or of the subjects that were to be brought up for its decision. The agenda which had been provisionally drawn up and circulated threw but scanty light on these questions and included subjects like Esperanto, intellectual cooperation and others which suggested serious doubts as to the practical character of the session. One or two of his friends in the official world told the writer that the Assembly was rather a costly debating society. Add to this the fact the most important questions immediately affecting the peace of the world, like the problems of the Near East, the German reparations, the indebtedness of the Allies to each other and the financial plight of Austria, were not to be found on the agenda and were being dealt with by the Council of the League or by the big five powers, and you can easily account for the rather disparaging notion which several of the new delegates had formed of the Assembly of the League. When the report of the Council for the last year came up for discussion in the Assembly, speaker after speaker poured forth encomiums and congratulations on the work of the Council and the League. They were so laudatory as to suggest the possibility of an unconscious exaggeration of the importance of the body of which the speakers were members. But a diligent perusal of the contents of the report and impartial observation of the work

of the contents of the report and impartial observation of the work accomplished by the Assembly during the session have removed all lingering traces of scepticism and inspired a faith in the reality and possibilities of the League.

Apart from the spectacular aspect of the Assembly, which comprised over fifty states of the old and the new worlds and drew together delegates from all quarters of the globe, from China to Peru and Norway to Paraguay, the moral significance of the gathering could not be missed even by a casual observer. The reluctance of the United States to join the League, and the absence of Germany, Turkey and even of Russia, detract in some measure from the sphere of usefulness of the League. But making full allowance for these drawbacks which, it is to be hoped, are of temporary character, the League marks an epoch in the course of international dealings. For the first time in history the civilised states, whether small or large, have agreed to meet on a common platform and deliberate on questions of policy and administration affecting the peace and well-being of the world. A sentiment of democratic equality pervaded the atmosphere of the Assembly. The smallest state has the same opportunity for hearing and the same vote as the largest. Petty Luxembourg has the same voting strength as mighty France. It may even be open to question whether a system of representation which gives equal votes to countries irrespective of their population and resources, may not be attended with some danger of sacrifice of the interests of the many to those of the few. The possibility of any such risk is obviated by the peculiar constitution of the League, not however without a parallel in political constitutions. The constitution of the Council assures a permanent position to the more important powers. Moreover, the decisions of the Assembly do not *ipso facto* become binding upon the member-states without ratification by them.

The smaller states and even the larger ones are naturally anxious to avoid the erection of a super-state which would necessarily involve an encroachment upon their sovereign rights. This is one of the many reasons why the decisions of the League must for a considerable time at

Robert Cecil's idea of an international police organisation appears to me to be outside the pale of practical politics in the immediate future. The Covenant of the League wisely lays stress upon unanimity or at any rate the assent of a very large majority of its members, and prefers to rely on economic weapons for the coercion, where necessary, of recalcitrant individual states. The employment of physical force can be resorted to only in the last instance, and should be the outcome of a special resolution and concert rather than the automatic consequence of a pre-ordained police administration.

Turning now to the personnel of the Assembly, its members were men with a high sense of responsibility and animated by an earnest resolve to promote the objects of the League by giving of their best. It would be invidious to single out any names when there were so many good and true men and so many men of ability and ripe experience. The name of Lord Robert Cecil must, however, rise to the lips of everyone who watched the proceedings of the Assembly. A man of varied interests and broad outlook, of deep sympathies and humanitarian instincts, there was no subject, whether it was the reduction of armaments or the cultivation of Esperanto, which failed to draw forth his copious enthusiasm and energy.

The volume of work turned out by the Assembly and its committees forms a record of which it may well be proud. No one could have failed to be struck with the absence of narrow parochialism among the delegates, with their spirit of give and take, their solicitude to reach unanimity and their spirit of caution which led them to postpone decisions rather adopt hasty and perhaps erroneous conclusions.

Questions specially affecting India, or for the matter of that any country, in particular, were of course few. The question of opium traffic was originally raised in a form which involved the possibility of serious injury to Indian fiscal interests without corresponding moral benefit to China. But the resolution as passed by the Assembly avoids any such risk. By far the most important resolutions passed by the Assembly were those relating to the reduction of armaments, the protection of minorities and the financial succour of Austria. The resolution on the reduction of

armaments was very elaborate and comprehensive, taking note of all the factors involved in the policy, and it marks a milestone in the arduous march towards the goal of peace and goodwill among the nations. The impatient idealist may not be satisfied with the conclusion, but the practical politician will welcome the resolution as a necessary first step to the attainment of the ideal.

The resolution on the protection of minorities was drawn up by the Professor Gilbert Murray, representative of South Africa, and though primarily intended to deal with the rights of minorities in those states which have incurred obligations under the recent treaties it contains a clause exhorting states not bound by such treaties to accord to minorities within their jurisdiction the same measure of justice and fairplay as the other states. Coming as it did from the representative of South Africa and passed as it was unanimously by the Assembly, it is a valuable expression, albeit of a pious character, of the sentiment of the Assembly.

During the discussion of the resolution on the administration of the mandated territories an important question was raised by the writer of this article with regard to the legal status of the "C" class mandated territories. The discussion of this point was rendered necessary by a pronouncement of General Smuts on South West Africa that the "C" class territories were annexed to the mandatory states in all but name. The view enunciated by General Smuts is pregnant with far-reaching consequences, and it is gratifying to note that it was not shared by the Permanent Mandates Commission. The distinguished South African statesman seems to have relied upon the language of Article 2 of the "C" class mandates. But this is identical with that of Article 9 of the "B" class mandates as to which he admits that the territories held under them cannot be regarded as practically annexed to the mandatory state. Article 22 of the Covenant treats all these territories as a sacred trust of civilisation to be administered as trust estates. Though these territories were originally vested in the Allies, they divested themselves of the territories and created a trust of which the trusteeship was vested in the League of Nations. Hereafter it is the Council of the League that is ultimately

responsible for the welfare of the peoples in these various territories. The methods of administration in the three classes of "A", "B" and "C" mandated territories may be different, but in every case the peoples of the territories are the beneficiaries. Two propositions of law are clearly beyond question. One is that a trustee or an agent of a trustee cannot treat the property of the beneficiary as his own and annex it to his own properties. It follows that the inhabitants of the "C" class territories do not become nationals of the mandatory state but preserve their own distinct national status. The other proposition is that a mandate is essentially revocable and if the mandatory fails in his duty he may be relieved of the mandate. . .

(A Great Liberal)

APPENDIX IV

ON MAHATMA GANDHI—(Excerpts)

Mr. Gandhi is a unique figure in the history of India. Many great personages in history have been called great, but I do not know whether they were called great in their own, life-time. Mr. Gandhi has been called a Mahatma, or great soul, by the millions of India who hold him in veneration and follow him with implicit obedience. There is no other person in the history of India whose name has become literally a household word throughout the length and breadth of this vast country.

Mr. Gandhi is a man of saintly character, purity of life and simplicity of habits. He carried his simplicity to the point of asceticism which has always exercised a great fascination on the Oriental mind. Truth and non-violence are two of the cardinal principles of his life. Unflinching adherence to truth and abstaining from violence, especially physical, have been the guiding principles of his life. His temperament is essentially religious and he is steeped in the teaching of scriptures of Hinduism and Christianity and in the teaching of the anarchist Tolstoy. He believes in the identity of the fundamental teaching of all the great religions and is absolutely free from sectarianism or communalism. His life is dedicated to the service of his fellow-countrymen, and especially to depressed classes, the achievement of Hindu-Moslem unity and the uplift of India and its emancipation from foreign domination. He is a moralist, a social

reformer and a man of burning patriotism. A man of such selfless character, pure life and noble ideals is bound in any country to appeal to the hearts of the people and win their admiration and affection.

As a political leader, he has a great gift for organisation. He does not know what fear is and his courage is not daunted by any obstacles. He has a profound knowledge of the psychology of the masses of this country, and his adoption of the ways of life of the poorest and the humblest in the land is a great help to the sway exercised by him over the people. Like Joan of Arc, who heard the voice of angels, he often waits for the inner voice to help him to a decision when in doubt and perplexity. Above all, he believes in his divine mission and his destiny. He has an unflinching faith in his generalship and his followers consider him infallible, except when he himself makes a confession of his Himalayan blunders. He is himself convinced of his growing wisdom. To attribute any faults or imperfections to Mr. Gandhi would be regarded by his followers as flat blasphemy. It is of course true that the faults of Mr. Gandhi are not faults of character, but errors of judgement.

His achievements in the political field are remarkable. When the early leaders of the Congress movement failed in their constitutional methods of political reform they were frequently asked by the younger generation what were the sanctions behind their political demands. Mr. Gandhi applied himself to the task of discovering a successful solution of this question. Any armed rebellion by the un-armed, emasculated and defenceless people of India was entirely out of the question. Non-violent, non-cooperation with the government and the economic boycott of British goods were the only weapons open to India. To Mr. Gandhi is due the credit of this discovery and the methods of popularising the use of these weapons. He therefore carried on a tearing and raging campaign throughout India, and no one knew better than he did how to create disaffection against the government which he always described as Satanic. In a country of increasing population, undeveloped industrial resources and grinding poverty, he knew how to awaken the political consciousness of the people. The earlier political leaders had appealed

only to the intelligentsia. To Mr. Gandhi is due the great credit of discovering that without the support of the people at large the British Government would pay no heed to the most reasonable representations of the intelligentsia.

(A Great Liberal)

APPENDIX V

ADMISSION OF INDIANS INTO ALL BRANCHES OF THE ARMY

(Speech at the Imperial Legislative Assembly—1923)

Sir, I rise to move the first Resolution on the agenda today. It is in these terms :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he will be pleased to urge upon the Imperial Government the necessity for promptly giving effect to Resolutions 7,8,10 and 11 of the Assembly passed on the 28th of March, 1921, in connection with the Esher Committee's Report with the concurrence of the Government of India."

These Resolutions were passed with the concurrence of the Government of India, and they have not yet been fully given effect to. I do not suppose that much argument will be necessary on my part to persuade the Government to return to the charge in respect of those portions of the Resolutions which have not been already carried out; I need hardly tell the House that these Resolutions 7, 8, 10 and 11 were perhaps the most important of the Resolutions which were passed on that occasion in connection with the Esher Committee's Report. They have been given effect to only in part and my object in moving this Resolution is to ask the House to consider the progress made in carrying out these Resolutions, to express its opinion as to the very unsatisfactory character of the progress, and to urge upon the Government to make a further

representation.

Mr. Burdon was good enough to furnish us two days ago with a statement analysing the demands of the Assembly contained in the Resolutions referred to and showing the progress that had been made in the matter of giving effect to these various Resolutions. I propose to refer in some detail to this statement which was furnished by Mr. Burdon and point out how halting and unsatisfactory the progress has been. The first matter to which I wish to refer is the request of the Assembly that the King Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's Military, Naval and Air Forces in India. Now the reply is this : "Indians are now eligible for admission to all ranks of the Cavalry and Infantry Arms of the Indian Army." That is no news to us. They were eligible and they are eligible. There has been no further steps taken in the matter.

It is said that "the proposal that Indians should be admitted to the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers which are branches of the British Unit of the Indian Army has not yet been agreed to." I understand from Mr. Burdon that the word 'yet' has crept in there by mistake and that he really meant to inform us that these proposals have been rejected. The words "has not been agreed to" are perhaps ambiguous. They do not state at which end of the cable the hitch has arisen. But *prima facie* the hitch has not arisen at this end for we know that the Government of India concurred in the Resolutions which were passed. Apparently it means that the hitch has arisen at the other end and that these proposals have not been agreed to, or have been rejected, by the Imperial Government.

The position, then, is this : what we desired was the declaration of the eligibility of Indians to branches of the Army to which they were not eligible previously. They were eligible to the Cavalry and to the Infantry. What they were not eligible to was the Engineers and the Artillery, the Air Forces and so on. Now this statement that these are branches of the British Army and not of the Indian Army is perhaps meant to suggest a reason for the refusal of the Imperial Government to accede to our request. But that, I submit, is no satisfactory reason. It is true that

the units of the Royal Artillery and of the Royal Engineers now in India are British units, and it may be that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of admitting Indians into British units; but that was not what we desired. Our object was to have it declared that Indians are eligible to the Artillery and Engineers. If necessary let Indian units of Artillery and Indian units of Engineers be formed in India and if any question of cost should arise, let a certain number of British Artillery units and British Engineer units be replaced by the Indian units. That is the solution of any difficulty which might arise from the fact that the Artillery and the Engineers are British units. It is really no answer at all to our claim to be admitted into branches of the Army to which we were not admitted before.

With regard to the admissibility of the Indians to the Marine services, we know that it is a subject which will come up for examination before the Committee which was appointed to inquire into that question. I shall not therefore trouble the House with any remarks upon that matter. Then with regard to the Air Force, it is stated that the proposal that Indians should be admitted to the Royal Air Force, which is also a British service establishment, has not been agreed to. The remarks which I made in connection with the Artillery and the Engineers are equally applicable to the Royal Air Force.

The fact that they are British units is no answer at all to our claim. In fact I should suggest that if this attitude is persisted in that Indians cannot be admitted into the Air Force or into the Artillery or the Engineers because they have got only British units and no Indian units, it will be necessary for us to take up the position that if there is no provision made for the admission of Indians and their training in these various arms of the defensive force, we should call upon the Imperial Government to foot the bill in respect of these services, into which Indians have no right of admission and which are maintained by the recruitment of Britishers only. It seem to me, therefore, that these difficulties are not really of an insuperable character.

The next items is that Indians should be freely admitted to the auxiliary services and the auxiliary forces. The answer is "Indian officers

of the Indian Army holding the King's Commissions are equally eligible with British officers of the Indian Army for admission to the Indian Army departments, namely, the Indian Farms Service Corps, the Indian Army Ordnance Corps, the Indian Farms Department, etc. Indian Officers will, however, be required to satisfy the same conditions as British Officers, that is to say, they must enter the Army as combatants in the first instance and then have some years' experience of regimental life and obtain certain prescribed qualifications. Now, it may possibly be news to many of the members that service in the combatant ranks is necessary for admission to these auxiliary forces and that it is necessary for an officer to obtain a King's Commission in the combatant ranks before he is eligible to these auxiliary forces. With that position, which I presume to be correct, I do not propose to quarrel, but I think it is necessary to publish the fact that Indian officers holding King's Commission are eligible for appointments in these auxiliary services and that there is no bar to their entertainment, apart from the conditions which are applicable to all alike. That I think is necessary. In this connection another matter which I should like to bring out and which may have connection with another item to be mentioned later on is this : The number of recruitments made annually for King's Commissions was stated by Sir Godfrey Fell two years ago to be about 10 a year or so out of 50 vacancies to be filled up. Now, it struck me as somewhat curious that for the whole Army which consists, I believe, of over 4,000 officers including the regular, the auxiliary and the other services, the rate of decrement should be so small that the number of annual vacancies to be filled up in the King's Commissions should only be 50 or 60.

I know that in the Civil Service, which consists of a much smaller cadre, the rate of decrement is larger and the number of vacancies annually thrown open is larger. One would have thought that in the military service the rate of decrement would perhaps be a little faster, but probably military service may have a tendency to prolong life and the number of annual vacancies may perhaps be as stated. But I should like the authorities to examine the question and give us correct information as to whether the 50 or 60 annual vacancies in the King's Commissions have been

correctly calculated with reference to the total strength of officers, including the ancillary services. Of course, if it has been correctly calculated, I have no quarrel. I have simply stated that, *prima facie* it strikes one as rather curious that in the whole Army, which consists of thousands of officers, the annual number of king's Commissions to be thrown open should be so small as 50 or 60.

Then, Sir, the next item is this—we suggested that every encouragement should be given to Indians, including the educated middle class, subject to the prescribed standard of fitness. The answer is that it is being done. I do not wish to go further into that matter.

The next is that in the nomination of candidates for the examinations non-official Indians should be associated. The answer is that this practice has been adopted. What I beg to suggest is, not merely that there should be non-official Indians associated on some selection board in the Provinces, but that, if possible, there should be a central advisory board here at the headquarters. I trust that it is no reflection at all upon the judgement of the authorities at the headquarters if I suggest that it would be an advantage to have a central advisory board associated with the authorities here in making a selection out of the names of the candidates who might have been nominated by the local Government, for I take it that the number of candidates nominated by the Local Governments is not exactly equal to the number who have to be selected. I believe they send up a larger number of names, and it is the headquarters that selects persons out of these nominees, after a personal interview with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and perhaps with higher authority. The responsibility for the selection undoubtedly rests with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and with His Excellency the Viceroy. I submit it would be no disparagement at all of their judgement to suggest that a small committee of non-officials might be associated with them in making the selections. I do not believe it can be claimed that the selections made have all turned out quite good bargains. If they have not turned out good bargains, it might very probably be due to the unfitness of the candidates. But if there had been some non-officials associated, it is quite possible that they might have been in a position to assist or advise the authorities

here as to the rejection of certain candidates and the selection of fit candidates.

The next item of recommendation with which I propose to trouble the House is this—that not less than 25 per cent of the King's Commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with. The answer is that full effect has not been given to this recommendation. During the past few years 10 Commissions out of 50 annually have been reserved for Indians. In connection with this I need only call attention to the remarks. I made about the number of Commissions annually thrown open. I should like to have accurate figures as to the number of commissions annually filled up and I should like to urge upon the Imperial Government the necessity of carrying out this Resolution in its entirety by starting with at least the minimum percentage of 25. It has not been stated in the answer that it has not been possible to secure 25 per cent; all that is stated is that 10 Commissions have been reserved every year. Why it is not possible to reserve more Commissions we do not know, and here we call upon the Government to give effect to this part of our Resolution. Here I do not know where the hitch has arisen. Possibly the native hue of the Government's Resolution might have been sicklied over with the pale cast of thought. I should like to be informed whether the trouble has arisen here or at another place.

The next item was that adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Indian Military College, Sandhurst. The reply, as we all know, is that a so-called College has been started at Dehra Dun. I use the word 'so-called' because it really is a high school. Of course it may be a good thing to give it an attractive name such as College. Now what we really want is, not merely one preliminary training institution like the one at Dehra Dun, but a least one more. In spite of the vast size of this country, Dehra Dun is the only place in the whole of this sub-continent to which recruits have to be sent. To realise the conditions, just imagine a candidate in England having to be sent to Russia for training for entrance to Sandhurst or some other institution. The distance is quite as vast. A candidate, say from

the south of India, or the east coast of India, or from Burma has now to go to Dehra Dun. I respectfully suggest the opening of another school at Bangalore or Poona whichever the authorities may prefer, which might be convenient to other parts of India as well.

The next recommendation was that, as soon as funds were available, steps should be taken to establish in India a military college such as Sandhurst. The answer is, this recommendation has not yet been agreed to. I do not know whether the 'yet' here also is a *lapsus calami*, whether it is still under consideration, or whether the formula that 'it has not been agreed to' means it has been rejected. I hope it does not mean that because the next sentence says, "amongst other things, the financial condition laid down has not yet been satisfied." I venture to draw some hope from the manner in which this sentence is worded, and I take it to mean that this proposal has not been definitely rejected. The financial condition has not been satisfied because funds are not available. Now if the Government would kindly give some idea of the cost of running a regular institution like Sandhurst, it might be possible for us to help them with suggestions as to ways and means. There are, for instance, items of expenditure which we at any rate would have no hesitation in proposing a retrenchment of. For instance, there are schools of education for the British wing of the Army which are meant to train up British soldiers for avocations in after-life, after their discharge. Now, that is an item which has all along appeared to me to one which ought not to be thrown upon the Indian Exchequer at all, because the soldiers to be trained are not going to live in this country and earn their livelihood here, but are going back to their own country. Now, we might be able to suggest various other ways and means with regard to meeting the cost. If the Government will kindly tell us what the other obstacles are to the opening of a military college like Sandhurst, it might be possible for us to suggest ways of getting over them.

The next item recommended by the Assembly was that the desirability of establishing in India training and educational institutions for other branches of the Army should be kept in view. It is said that it is

impracticable at present to take any definite action towards carrying out this recommendation. Of course, our recommendation did not request the Government to carry it out at once but merely asked them to keep the desirability of establishing such institutions in view. We do not know whether it is still being kept in view or has been lost sight of or whether the difficulty referred to is a difficulty of funds. However, there is one sentiment to which I think I may give expression with some confidence, namely, that in these matters of training Indians to take part in the defence of the country, if expenditure is really necessary, the country will not be unwilling to find ways and means of providing for it, and we shall be very pleased if the Government will tell us what their plans are and what the cost would be.

The next recommendation was that a territorial force should be formed on attractive lines. The answer is that the Indian Territorial Force has been created and the results of the training carried out in the first year of the existence of the Force have been satisfactory, and that recruiting results are also satisfactory. With regard to this subject of the Territorial Force and the lines upon which it has been formed, it would perhaps be rash for a layman like myself to express any opinion with any confidence, and I must confess that I have not been able to study the subject or exactly understand and appreciate the lines on which the Territorial Force is now being organised; but I understand that the principle upon which the Territorial Force is being organised is that it should take the place of a second line of reserve. I am not sure whether I am correct in my assumption but I am merely stating what my impression of the situation is. I believe that the Territorial Force is, unlike the Auxiliary Force, liable to service outside of India. If I am right in my surmise, it seems to me that that policy requires further consideration. It is not that I am opposed to the formation of a second line of reserve or of a reserve at all. Reserves are necessary and essential, but the question is what is the proper function of a Territorial Force. So far as the Auxiliary Force is concerned, I believe that it is not intended to send them out of the country for service, but, so far as the Territorial Force is concerned, I understand the conditions are different. I may also point out here that, according to

the English Territorial Forces Act, 1907, the Territorial Force was not and perhaps is not liable to be sent out of the country without its consent. Of course, I am speaking subject to correction, but I took a brief opportunity of consulting a book, the authority of which perhaps His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may acknowledge—Lord Halsbury's *Laws of England*". In the section on the Territorial Force, he says :

"The Crown may raise and maintain a force called the Territorial Force, any part of which is liable to serve in any part of the United Kingdom, but may not without his consent be carried or ordered to go out of the United Kingdom."

(*His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief*—"What is the date of that?") The date was 1913. It may be it has been amended since. I do not pretend to be an expert in military law but I am only stating what I have gathered. Be that as it may, I am right in making this statement that, when the Territorial Force was started in England, it was started with the object of making it liable to service inside the country and not outside. Subsequently, if I understand His Excellency aright, the law was changed so as to make them liable to service outside. What I wish to observe is this that in the matter of the formation of a Territorial Force we are not prepared to adopt the cautious lines on which the Territorial Force was formed even in a country with military instincts, where the people are accustomed to the idea of military service, and the authorities are anxious to organise the force on the lines finally adopted in England. In some matters, notably in matters political, we know we adopt the motto *Festina lente*, but in other matters like this we are prepared to adopt the final form reached in the evaluation of the Territorial Force in England for the organisation of our force here. Well, I do not wish to go further into the question. It may be said that, from the point of view of military efficiency, it is necessary that the final form reached in the evolution of the Territorial Force in England should also be adopted in this country. But there is one point which arises here. What have you done in the case of the Auxiliary Force? Why do you not make them also liable to service outside India? If the Auxiliary Force is not liable to service outside India—I speak subject to

correction—and is more or less meant for the purpose of training a large number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the country to deal with disturbance of the internal security, why do you not form a similar organisation with regard to Indians or declare that Indians also are liable to be enrolled, not necessarily in the same unit of the Auxiliary Force but in separate units of the Auxiliary Force? I am not quarrelling with your organisation of a Territorial Force with its liability to serve abroad, but, if that is to be the ideal of the Auxiliary Force—I am using the word "Auxiliary" in the broad sense—then, do one of two things : Either make the Auxiliary Force in the narrow sense liable to service outside India or allow us to form Indian units of the Auxiliary Force. It cannot be said that the distinctions between the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force, which it was the object of the Assembly to get rid of, have been touched.

Then, the next point was this—that a gradual and prudent reduction of the ratio of British troops should be carried out. I do not propose to go into that very large question of policy here. The next recommendation was that officers in the Indian Territorial Force should have the rank of Second-Lieutenant or higher ranks as the case may be and that no distinction should be made between the Indian Territorial Force and the Indian Auxiliary Force in respect of the authority which signs the commissions; and that officers in these two forces should take rank *inter se* according to the date of appointment. The answer is, as an interim arrangement it has been decided to grant officers in the Indian Territorial Force honorary commissions in His Majesty's Land Forces which confer the titles of rank used in the British Army. These questions have not yet been finally decided for the reason that the form of commission to be granted to officers of the Auxiliary Force as a permanent arrangement has not yet been settled.

Apparently the question has been under consideration during these two years and is said to be still under consideration. I only hope that the question will be settled in a satisfactory manner. (Mr. N.M. Samarth : "At an early date"). Now I have done with the various recommendations made by the Assembly in its Resolutions of the 28th

March 1921. It remains for us now to press the Government again to make a further representation to the authorities at home. We know that the influence of the War Office is great, is very conservative and very baleful. But we know also and we are glad to remember that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told us on one occasion that he was a servant of the Assembly and that you could trust him to fight for battles not merely on the battlefield but in the Council Chamber; with every weapon in his hand (Hear, hear) including even the civilian's weapon, of the pen! I hope that the Government will not let the grass grow under their feet. I hope that they do not require any persuasion from the Assembly to recur to those subjects, to make a further representation to the Imperial Government and to urge upon them the necessity for giving effect to those Resolutions of the Assembly as early as possible—Resolutions, which voice, I may say with confidence, the public opinion of this country. It has often been said—sometimes even by our official friends—that we do not possess a representative character. Now in this matter at any rate I have no hesitation in saying that in formulating these recommendations we voice the public opinion of the country. After those Resolutions were passed when I went to Madras I met a young journalist who asked me, "When do you think these Resolutions will be carried into effect?" In my innocence I was sanguine enough to imagine—that the Resolutions having been passed with the concurrence of the Government of India, and the Joint Select Committee having said that in matters in which the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly were in accord the Secretary of State should not interfere, I was sanguine enough to think—that the Resolution would be carried out in the course of a year or two. But I have been disillusioned, and my hope in the fulfilment of the promises made by the Government has been very considerably chastened. I hope that the Government will apply themselves again to this task with all the earnestness at their command and see that these Resolutions are carried out at as early a date as possible.

(A Great Liberal)

APPENDIX VI

CHRONICLE

7-2-1864	*	Birth of P.S.S. Aiyer.
1878	*	Matriculated.
1882	*	Passed B.A. Examination ranking Second in the Presidency and First in Sanskrit and winning the Godavari Narayan Prize and the Oppert Medal (Sanskrit) and Gordon Prize (History).
1884	*	Passed B.L. Examination
1885	*	Enrolled as Vakil.
1887	*	Gave evidence representing the Mylapore Athenaeum before the Royal Public Service Commission in India (Aitchison Commission)
1893	*	Father died
1893-1899	*	Assistant Professor, Madras Law College.
1883-1907	*	Joint Editor of MLJ.
1898	*	Fellow of the University of Madras.
1902	*	Gave evidence before Indian Universities Commission.
1904	*	Elected to the Madras Legislative Council by the Senate of the Madras University.
1906	*	Re-elected to the Madras Legislative Council (Unopposed).

- April 1906 * Laid the Foundation stone of the High School, Tirukkattupalli.
- March 1907 * Tanjore District Conference—Presidential Address.
- Nov. 1907 * Gave evidence before the Decentralisation Commission. Took over Tirukkattupalli School.
- 1907-1912 * Advocate General.
- 1908 * C.I.E. Conferred.
- 1912-1917 * Member of the Executive Council.
- Dec. 1912 * Presided over the Tanjore District Conference—Second Annual Session.
- Nov. 1914 * Convocation Address at the Madras University.
- 1915 * Knighthood conferred—K.C.S.I.
- 1916-1918 * Vice-Chancellor, Madras University.
- Dec. 1916 * Bharata Dharma Mahamandal conferred the title 'Vidyabhushan'
- 1918-1919 * Vice Chancellor, Banaras University.
- Jan. 1919 * Convocation Address of the Banaras Hindu University.
- Dec. 1919 * President of Second All-India Moderate Conference (Calcutta).
- 1920 * Trip to Burma, Thailand, etc.
- 1921-1923 * Member, Indian Legislative Assembly.
- Jan. 1923 * Returned from his foreign tour.
- Oct 1923 * Mysore University Convocation Address.
- 1924-1926 * Nominated to Indian Legislative Assembly.
- Feb. 1924 * Shashtiabdapurti. Founder's Day at Tirukattupalli School, Dr. Annie Besant presided.

- | | | |
|-------------|---|---|
| 1926 | * | All India National Liberal Federation—Ninth Session (Akola)—Presidential Address. |
| 1927 | * | V. Krishnaswami Aiyar Lectures on Indian Constitutional Problems. |
| Dec. 1929 | * | All-India Federation of Teachers' Associations—Fifth Session: Presidential Address. |
| May 1931 | * | Appointed Member of the Indian Military College Committee. |
| August 1932 | * | D. Litt. Coferred by the Madras University. |
| Dec. 1933 | * | Lucknow University Convocation Address. |
| Dec. 1933 | * | Banaras University conferred the Hony. Degree of Doctor of Láws. |
| 1934 | * | Kámala Lectures on the Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals (at Calcutta and Madras). |
| Oct. 1939 | * | Demise of Lady Sivaswami Aiyer. |
| Dec. 1940 | * | Besant Memorial Lectures, Madras University. |
| Jan. 1944 | * | Satabhishekam celebrations. |
| March 1944 | * | Elected President of Sanskrit Academy of Madras. |
| 5-11-1946 | * | Death of P.S.S. Aiyer. |

INDEX

- Adarkar, B.P., 118
- Ahimsa* (see also non-violence), 52, 54, 109, 110
- Aitchison, Sir Charles, 26
- Aiyar, Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami, 33
- Aiyar, C.P. Ramaswami, 33, 36
- Aiyar, C.R. Pattabhirama, 6
- Aiyar, Chandrasekhara, 85, 123
- Aiyar, Gopala, 104
- Aiyar, P.R. Sundara, 6, 22, 25, 30
- Aiyar, Pazhamaneri Sundaram, 9, 10
- Aiyar, S. Subramania, 6, 21, 24, 29, 40, 41
- Aiyar, T. Muthuswami, 4
- Aiyar, V. Krishnaswami, 6, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 30, 34, 59, 96
- Aiyar, Vaidyanatha, 19
- Aiyar, Venkatarama, 17
- Aiyengar, K. Srinivasa, 41
- Aiyengar, S. Srinivasa, 29, 33
- Aiyengar, Sir, V. Bashyam, 5, 6
- Aiyer, K.S. Vaidyanatha, 93
- Aiyer, L.A. Govindraghava (Dewan Bahadur), 90, 91
- Aiyer, P.E. Subrahmaniam, 93
- Aiyer, P.S. /Sivaswami (birth, 4, 7, 10; death, 121, 151): childhood and education, 9; decided to take up legal profession, 16-17, 19, 20-21; marriage, 18; death of father, 20; Assistant Professor, Madras Law College, 20; started Madras Law Journal, 21; love of books, 22-23, 112; as lawyer, 22; Advocate General, 24-25; evidence before Indian University Commission, 29-30; President, Thanjavur Conference, views before Royal Commission, 30; conferred upon Commander of Indian Empire, 33-34; Member of Governor's Executive Council, 34; on panchayat system, 37-40; Vice Chancellor of Madras and Banaras Hindu University, 40; Member Imperial Legislative Assembly, 41-42; on democracy and government policy 45; on Jallianwalah Bagh massacre, 50-51;

- Presided Liberal Federation Conference, Calcutta, 52; on non-violence and non-cooperation, 52-54; on Civil Liberties Union, 55; on education, 57; on Indian defence, 6-61, 66; on backward classes, 62; on satyagraha, 63; On Simon Commission Report 63-64; President of Recruitment Committee for Territorial force, 71; on social problems, 72; on family planning, 76; visit to Ceylon, 78; visit to Rangoon, 78; visit to Thailand, 81; death of mother, 81; visit to Europe, 82; delegate to League of Nations, 88; donations to Tirukkattupalli High School and Lady Sivaswami Aiyer Girls School and their President, 93; donations to other educational institutions, 96; convocation address to Banaras Hindu University, Madras and Lucknow Universities, 97; love of music and art, 102; charity to poor, 107; devotion to Bhagavata, 108; on *Ahimsa* and *Asangha*, 109-110; love of nature, 118-119; death of wife, 121; death, 122
- Anandacharlu, p, 29
Approved Methods of Family Limitation, 76
 Arundale, George, 35
Asanga, 109-110
 Backward classes, 62
 Bain, Mr. 7
Bankruptcy of Marriage in the West, 117
 Bengal Minor's Act, 27
 Besant, Mrs. 35
 Besant Memorial Endowment, 109
 Bhagavathar, Neman Natesa, 102
 Bhore, J.W., 84
 Bilderbeck, J.B., 14
 Birkenhead, Lord, 86
 Brahmo Samaj, 2
 Britain (England): British rule, 1-3; relations between India and, 63
 British Commonwealth of Nations, 63
 Brodie, Mr. 39
 Brown, M.F.E. 84
 Bryce, James, 116
 Burdon, Mr; 139
 Calverton, Mr; 117
 Carmichael, Lord, 34
 Cecil, Lord Robert, 131-132
 Chamberlain, Sir, Austin, 86

- Chancellor, Lord, 86
 Chandrasekhar, Dr; 85
 Chandrasekharan, 10
 Chelmsford, Lord, 85
 Childers, Captain, 79, 80
 Chintamani, C.Y., 106
 Chirol, Sir Valentine, 86
 Churchill, Winston, 43, 85
 Civil Procedure Code, 27, 28
 Congress (*see* Indian National Congress)
Contemporary Review, 86
 Coomaraswamy Ananda, 102
 Craddock, Sir Reginald, 80
 Criminal Law Administration Act, 53
 Curtis, Sir Lionel, 86
 Curzon, Lord, 46
 Dowson, Vernon, 84
 Defence (Army), 60-61, 66, 138-148; discussion on, 60-61; English Territorial Forces Act (1907), 146; Indian Defence Force Act, 70-71; Indian Territorial Force Act (1922), 71; Recruitment Committee for Territorial Force, 71
 Desikachari, V.C., 6
 Devidson, Lionel, 58
 Dharmambal, 10
 Doraiswami, T.V., 104
 Duncan, Dr. David, 13-14, 87
 Dutt, Romesh Chandra, 30, 32
 Dyarchy, 35, 41, 85
 Dyer, General, 50, 51
 Education system, 2, 98; academic, 57
 Eighteen Fifty Seven (1857) rebellion (uprising), 1, 2
 English language, 99, 125-126
 Esher Committee Report, 67, 68, 138
 Evans, O, Llyods, 84
 Evolution of Hindu Moral Idea, 72, 114, 122
 Family planning, 76; "Approved Methods of Family Limitation", 76
 Facism, 89
 Fell, Sir Gedfrey, 141
 Fisher, H.A.L., 116
 Freedom struggle, 1
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 4, 47, 52, 54, 63, 84, 85, 89, 110, 135-137
 George, Llyod, 85
Gita, 111, 118; *Gita Rahasya*, 111
 Godavari Lanka case, 23
 Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 4, 43, 44, 48
 Gopal Rao, T, 12
 Gore, Major Ormsby, 86
 Gour, Dr.; 42
 Government of India Act, 42
 Guardians and Wards Act (1890), 27
 Hailey, Mr., 127
 Haldane, Lord; 24
 Halsbury, Lord, 146
 Hammiek, Sir Murray, 84
 Harding, Lord, 84
 Havell, Dr.; 102
 High Courts, establishment of, 2-3
 Hindu Law Reforms, 29

- Hindu society, 72-76
 Hinduism, 109
 Home Rule Movement, 35
 Hunter Committee Report, 50
 Huxley, T.H. 45
If War Comes, 118
 Imperial Council, 42, 49
 Imperial Legislative Assembly, 41, 138
Importance of Living, 113
 Indian Civil Liberties Union, 55, 56
 'Indian Constitutional Problems', 59, 60
 Indian Defence Force Act, 70-71
 Indian National Congress, 3, 6, 30, 46, 47, 55, 56, 66
Indian Review, 49, 116
Indian States and the Government of India, 116-117
 Indian Territorial Force Act, 71
 Islington, Lord, 85
 Iswara Charan, Munshi, 52
 Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 50-51
 Kalyani, 18, 19
 'Kamala Lectures', 72
 Karma theory, 74
 Khaddar, 52
 King, Machenzie, 90
 Kings Commission, 67, 141, 142, 143
 Lajpat Rai, Lala, 47
 Law Commission, 28
 League of Nations, 65, 87, 88, 90, 130-134; Conference, 87, 89
 Legislative Councils, establishment of, 2
 Liberals, 46, 56: Liberal Federation, 52; Liberal League, 91; *"The March of the Liberals"*, 46
 Limitation Act, 28
 Local Board Act, 39
 London Times, 86
 Lorraine, Poussin Glaude, 83
 Madras Law Journal, 21, 22
 Madras Legislative Council, 26
 Madras Liberal League, 90
 Madras Samskrita Academy, 103
 Madras University Act (1922), 40
 Malaviya, Madan Mohan, 4, 41, 96
 Maricar, T.S. 81
 Marsh, Mr., 9, 11, 12, 23
 Marshall, 90; Mrs. Marshall, 90
 Masterman, M.C.G. 85
 Meyer, Sir W.S., 84
 Meyer, Sir William, 30
 Mill, John Stuart, 7, 43
 Miller, D, 13
 Mimamsa, 19, 72
 Mitakshara, 19
 Moderates, 47, 85
 Montagu, 85, 86
 Montford Reforms, 35
 Moral Progress, 74
 Morely-Minto Reforms, 47
 Mother England, 117
 Mudaliar, Poondi Ranganatha, 13
 Mudaliar, Salem Ramaswami, 22
 Murray, Gilbert, 133
 Music Academy, Madras, 102
 My Country and My People, 114
 Nair, C. Sankaran, 22, 27
 Nansen, Dr., 88

- Narasimhan, K.L. 84
 Natesan, G.A. 27, 116
 Natesan, P.R., 11
 National Liberal Federation, Madras, 52, 54-55
 Nationalism, 1
 Nazism, 89
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 55, 56
 Nehru, Motilal, 4
 Neo-Malthusian League, 76, 77
New India, 50
 Newman, Cardinal, 123
 Non-cooperation Movement, 52-54, 59
 Non-violence (*see also Ahimsa*), 52, 53, 110
 Opert, Dr. Gustav, 14
 Pal, Bepin Chandra, 47
 Panchayat system, 31, 37-40: powers to, 38-39; Village Courts Act, 38
 Panikkar, K.M., 116, 117
 Passive Resistance Movement, 52
 Peel, Lord, 85, 86; Peel Commission, 66
 Pentland, Lord, 34, 35, 36-37, 93
 Permanent Mandates Commission, 133
 Polak, Mr., 89
 Porter, Mr., 12, 13
 Powell, Dr., 13
 Prarthana Samaj, 2
 Pratap Singh, Sir, 79
 Public affairs, 58-59
 Public Services Commission, 48
 Radhakrishnan, S., 114
 Ramakrishna Mission, 3
 Ramakrishna Paramahansa, 3
 Ramaswami, P.H., 10, 88
 Ramesam, Vepa, 76
 Ranada, Mahadev Govinda, 2, 43, 44
 Rangachariar, Dewan Bahadur T, 71
 Ranganatha, Sri, 124
 Ranganathan, Dr. S.R., 107, 108, 118
 Rao, C.R. Narayan, 106
 Rao, R. Balaji, 16, 17, 18, 19
 Rao, R. Raghunatha (Dewan Bahadur), 6,
 Rao, Ramachandra, 6
 Rao, Sundara, 12
 Reading, Lord, 129
 Reforms, 48-49: political, 60; Reforms of (1919), 48; South borough Committee's Report on, 48
 Ritualism, 75
 Roberts, Mrs. Charles, 84
 Rodin, Muses, 84
 Rothensein, William, 86
 Rowlatt Act, 51
 Roy, Raja Ram Mohan, 2
 Royal Commission (1887), 26, 30
 Royal Military College, Dehradun, 62
 Rushton, Mr. 79
 Russian Revolution, 56
 Saha, Meghanad, 118
 Samarth, N.T.A., 147
Sanatana Dharma, 72, 73
 Sapru, Tej Bahadur, 106, 122
Sastras, 72, 73; *Dharma Sastra*, 73
 Sastri, Brahmasri Lakshmana, 96
 Sastri, Nanu, 9

आधुनिक भारत के निर्माता BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA

Dr. P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, about whom the book is written, is a multifaceted personality who belonged to the earlier generation of Indian leaders. Making a mark in various fields in the pre-Independence era, Dr. Sivaswamy Aiyer, in a way, reminded the Britishers of India's emerging modern intellect and awareness. He was a discerning scholar, legal luminary and upright administrator besides being a self-effacing philanthropist.

The author K. Chandrasekharan, with personal knowledge of his subject, captures in his racy style the life of Dr. Sivaswamy Aiyer and along with him some important events in our Indian History.

आधुनिक भारताच ।राल्पकार
आधुनिक भारताच ।राल्पकार
आधुनिक-भारतस्य निर्मातारः
नव-भारत से निर्माता



PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

PRICE : Rs. 80.00

ISBN: 81-230-0904-6



ಸವ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಗಾತಲು
جدید ہندوستان کے معمار